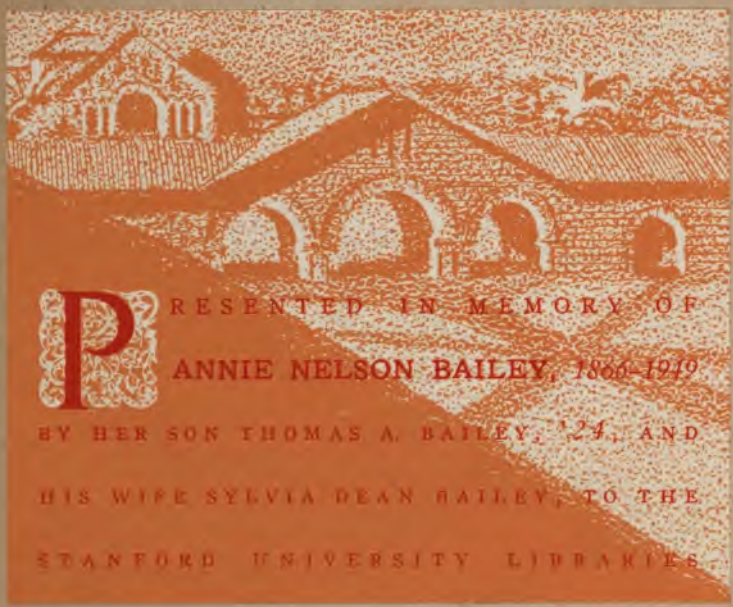
THE PRESENT PHASE OF WOMAN'S ADVANCEMENT

AUGUSTA COOPER BRISTOL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ANNIE NELSON BAILEY, 1866-1949
BY HER SON THOMAS A. BAILEY, '24, AND
HIS WIFE SYLVIA DEAN BAILEY, TO THE
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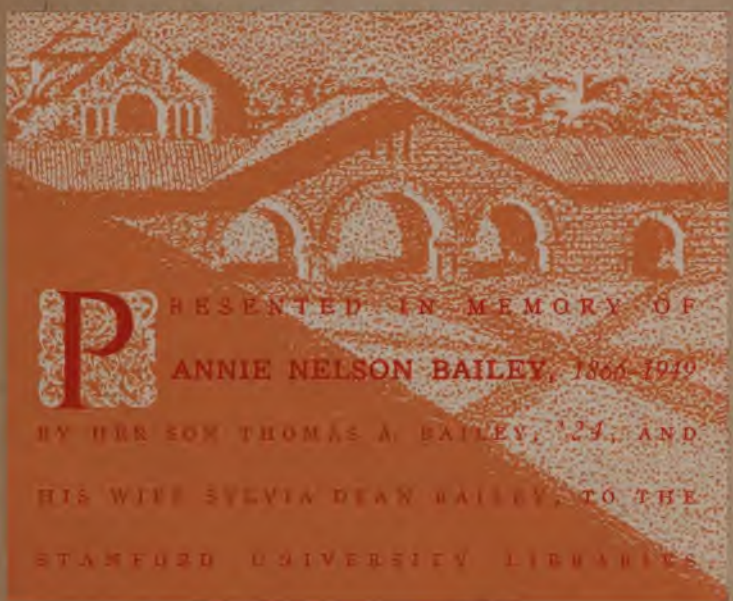
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THE PRESENT PHASE OF WOMAN'S ADVANCEMENT

AND OTHER ADDRESSES

BY

Augusta Cooper Bristol

CHRISTOPHER PUBLISHING HOUSE

BOSTON

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

The author of these lectures was born in 1835 in the little town of Croydon, perched up in the New Hampshire mountains, and since made famous in Winston Churchill's "Coniston." She was a precocious child, distinguishing herself in her school studies and writing her first verses at eight years of age. Mrs. Cooper was a wise mother and when she saw her little daughter's poetic bent, she encouraged her to express it naturally, but never to force her feeling.

All through her life Mrs. Bristol was guided by this principle, in later years writing to a friend as follows: "The output of my poetry has been comparatively small, as I never followed literature as a profession, writing only when impelled to expression by the pressure of the ideal life within."

New England girls of the last century became teachers very early in life, yet they realized their own need for further development and would continue their studies even under most adverse circumstances. The little girl was only thirteen when her first "position" was offered her, but her parents wisely objected to her accepting it, and kept her at home until two years later, when she began teaching "summer school" and "winter school." The other two seasons were devoted to her own education, thus laying the foundation for her subsequent success.

At this time also, her verses began to be published in various papers and magazines. In 1858, she married Gustavus Kimball and removed to a distant western town, but the young couple proved ill adapted to each other and five years later Mrs. Kimball returned with her little girl to her parents' home, Mr. Kimball securing a divorce later, on the ground of desertion.

In 1865 one of her poems in a New England publication attracted the attention of Louis Bristol, a lawyer of New Haven, Conn., who, after procuring her address, at once entered into a friendly correspondence with the author of the poem, which resulted in a proposal of marriage to her, and Mr. Bristol soon journeyed to Croydon to conduct his wooing in person. After their marriage in January, 1866, they removed to Carbondale, that part of Illinois known as "Egypt." With most of her neighbors unable to read or write, Mrs. Bristol found herself thrown on her own resources, and the appreciation of her husband for mental stimulus. She consistently wrote verse, and at this time her

At the Greenback Convention in Indianapolis, (1884) which resulted in the nomination of Gen. Ben Butler for President of the United States, Mrs. Bristol addressed the immense audience and an ingenuous remark that the Convention should nominate for President "a man who looks with an eye single to his purpose" was greeted with storms of wild cheers which lasted for several minutes. Her speech made a decided impression and was complimented by the chairman as having given utterance to the "noblest, highest and profoundest truths of political philosophy.

The "Terre Haute Saturday Evening Mail" (Republican) commented on it as follows:

"The only speech which attracted any particular attention at the National Greenback Convention was delivered by a woman, Mrs. Augusta Bristol, of New Jersey. As a philosophical exposition of the powers and duties of governments, the speech has been excelled by few, delivered from the political rostrum. Thus are the women coming into the political arena."

She was a member of the Association for the Advancement of Woman, that forerunner of the present day Federation of Womens Clubs. Julia Ward Howe was its President, and prominent among its members and officers were Charlotte Wilbur, Mary A. Livermore, Jennie June Croly, Susan B. Anthony and other famous women. It held annually a "Womens Congress," lasting several days, and for several years, Mrs. Bristol filled a place on its programs. "Labor and Capital" (included in this book) was delivered at the Woman's Congress in Chicago, 1883. Many of the Chicago papers printed the address in full, and one with the following preface:

"Mrs. Bristol's appearance at the close of the Woman's Congress lately held in this city was the most brilliant feature of the entire session; she came upon the platform at nine o'clock when audience and members were tired out and anxious to go home, a most unpropitious time indeed, but within five minutes the soul of the woman shining through her face, and vivifying the words as they came forth in perfectly modulated tones, completely captured her listeners, who at once forgot all but the noble soul who stood enfleshed before them giving utterance to her best thoughts."

In 1884, Frances Willard appointed her national superintendent of Labor and Capital Department in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. This office involved an immense amount of correspondence as well as other methods of organization, which taxed her strength so heavily that in the course of three or four years she felt obliged to resign it and from this until the time of her death in 1910, she lived in comparative obscurity, though speaking occasionally for different clubs and organizations and twice at the World's Fair in Chicago,

1893, the subject given her by the committee in charge being, "Woman the new Factor in Economics."

She continued to take great interest in all that concerned the advancement of woman, and when asked her views on the subject of "Votes for Women" by a newspaper correspondent, she replied:

"During my seventy years of life I have never directly entered upon a campaign for Woman Suffrage. I have never been very anxious on that matter, knowing there were women in the field with a larger aptitude for that work than myself. But in the various movements for social advancement which have formed the theme of my lectures in the past, I have perhaps done something toward convincing men that women are capable of philosophic and exact thought and therefore not unfitted by nature for taking a practical hand in the social machinery."

From among the many words of appreciation received by her daughters since her decease we quote the following, from Marie Howland of Fairhope, Ala.:

"It was a marvel to me and to all who knew her that she could manage the complicated duties of a home and family, write as much as she did, which included at least three volumes of real poetry—and most of her poems are superior both in sentiment and construction—give so much time to society duties, and yet accomplish so much in the lecture field.

"When we think of her wit, her infectious laughter, her conversational powers, her varied talents, her warm heart and her essential faithfulness and nobility of character, we may well say and believe that we ne'er shall look upon her like again."

Much of her work has been destroyed, but the following lectures have been selected from over a hundred manuscripts as fairly representing the scope of Mrs. Bristol's thought and research.

BESSIE BRISTOL MASON.

THE PRESENT PHASE OF WOMAN'S ADVANCEMENT.

You are aware that I stand here tonight simply as an apology for something better; that I stand in the place of one, who in the regular course of lectures instituted here, was to have spoken to you this evening upon "Mineral Bearing Veins."

I am, perhaps, more ignorant than any of you of the special branch of knowledge in which the ladies of the Bullion Club are interesting themselves —Mineralogy—and about which they would acquire a more thorough understanding, not only for the purpose of broadening their own intelligence, but with a view to possible practicalities in the future, which shall tend to worthy and beneficent results. It is because I not only believe, but know, the exceptional and superior motives which induce any woman, or body of women, to strike out into avenues of activity hitherto not ventured upon by our sex, that I stand here tonight, to give my plain and rational word of encouragement, to every woman who bravely meets the responsibilities which the inevitable sweep of progress is forcing upon her.

Whether these responsibilities are attractive or distasteful to her, is not the question. They are here, and they continually thicken around her. She cannot avoid them if she would. If she is a true sympathetic woman, she would not if she could. For it does not take such a woman long to perceive, that her own well-being is but a fraction of the considerations involved in her becoming, as fast as social arrangements will permit, an active co-operator in human affairs, a direct agent in shaping the practical conditions of life and society.

Woman has not sought this responsibility; has not desired it; has not consciously set any influence in operation in the past, which would of necessity develop this phase of her advancement. We may, perhaps, style it the **business** phase of woman's advancement; for from time immemorial, woman has dealt with the very minutiae of practicalities, in all her beneficent service as wife, mother, daughter, sister, teacher, friend. She will never be more willingly practical than she has been, but she now desires to achieve the intelligence and the means whereby she can direct her practicalities to nobler

and wider results. And the note of alarm is, that the woman nature may spoil in the attempt; and so great is the apprehension of this result, that it becomes the theme of conversation in public and private, in drawing room and lecture hall, and receives some tribute of discussion from all grades of society.

At one of the meetings of Sorosis last year, the following question was up for discussion: "Does a business life for woman tend to destroy those distinctively feminine qualities which are the essential characteristics of our sex?" That such a question should be selected by such a society for investigation and discussion, is of great significance. A society that stands in the popular thought as an index of the higher phases of civilization; a society composed of women who represent in no inconsiderable degree the wealth, art and culture of the great city; when such women take up such a question for serious consideration, and invest it with the prestige of laces, diamonds and velvet, it is an indication that a time has arrived when a consideration of the subject is primary and imperative. And that women have become so self-reliant and self-appreciative as to take up this question for themselves, believing that they must exercise their own judgment as to what constitutes progress, and ascertain for themselves the best methods for facilitating social advancement, all this is a definite indication that woman has reached a point in her own advancement, where she is conscious of her responsibility, conscious of her power, and the need of bringing that power to bear beneficently upon the issues of life, upon human conduct and human welfare. And, as she investigates, she finds, that whether desired or otherwise, the methods of social progress depend more and more upon the direction and quality of her influence. She begins to take this matter of human existence, of life here below, into her own hands. She must do this or be a coward. She finds herself in the stress and friction of human experience; numerically considered, she is at least one-half, if not more of the race; she has learned that the race has a historical development, an order of advance that tends to some ultimate achievement, and, by virtue of her conscience, she must endeavor to assist wisely and well toward this end.

This end, the ultimate attainment to be achieved here below, is the highest possible perfection of the race, physically, biologically, psychologically, sociologically. And, as woman in her capacity of wife and mother, presides at the primary sources of all development and culture, determining, through the warmth and wisdom of her heart-nature, the great stream of human life in its continuous flow adown the ages, her responsibility in reference to the

progress and evolution of society, becomes most vital and fundamental. In view of all this, it is neither incongruous nor irrational, that the question before Sorosis has attained such emphasis among the common ranks of women, that its echoes have reached the ears of the higher classes, arresting and commanding attention.

Among the various problems that wait for solution at the hands of woman in the present age, that of her self-support presses foremost. There are both natural and scientific reasons for this. If there was a rational basis for a hope that every woman could, by turning her wit and ambition in that direction, obtain a husband, and thus secure what is most desirable to our sex, a home and a heart-anchorage, and if, moreover, in the obtaining of a husband, the matter of the wife's support were positively settled, then indeed the question would shrink in importance, and might possibly be "laid upon the table." But the fact, as I am informed, that there are forty thousand more women than men in Massachusetts, and sixty thousand more in the State of New York, precludes the possibilities of marriage for a large proportion of our sex. What shall these forty and sixty thousand women do with themselves? I call this a business question, and one that should be answered in a manner that means business. We would not think it just or fitting that the married portion of the community, men or women, should burden themselves with the task of supporting this army of the single sisterhood; this forty and sixty thousand. Yet this is what must actually occur, if women do not some way become self-supporting. In order, then, that one portion of the community may be relieved from the injustice of maintaining another portion, and that the latter may no longer feel the embarrassing need of an apology for its very existence, it is evident that the question of self-support for women is, in this age, that which rises first for solution.

Comte, the great French philosopher, apprehending and appreciating the emotional in woman far more clearly than he comprehended her intellectual and executive possibilities, and truly divining the direction of her tastes and sentiments, provides a scheme in his constructive philosophy whereby unmarried women shall be supported by the State, and thus be relieved from responsibilities which, in his belief, would tend to impair the sweetness of the woman nature, but which are entirely appropriate to the opposite sex. And, although the unprejudiced student of his philosophy can hardly fail to discover that it is forming in no inconsiderable degree the very corner stone of all phases of social progress, yet I have never heard his most devoted followers endorse his gallantry on this point, or take one step toward bringing

it to the attention of the public; and we women begin to believe, that so long as men alone compose the State, we may not hope for such guarantee for unmarried women; and we are also convinced that the necessities of the problem admit of no delay, and whether tasteful or distasteful, woman must work it out for herself as best she may. But of one thing we may rest assured; women are not going at this matter of self-support and financial independence, blindly or madly. They are going to stand over the problem, and make a science of the attack. And the first point to ascertain is, how may woman attain self support, and open up opportunities for the accumulation of capital. This must be answered with reference to that ultimate ideal which I have previously mentioned, the perfection of the race. She must attain this independence by methods which will not deteriorate her woman nature, will not lessen or impair those distinctively womanly attributes which are held to be the peculiar attraction of our sex.

The legitimate avenues of wealth known to the race have all been wrought out, directly or indirectly, by the industry of the head and hand, the labor of muscle and brain. From this labor, all the varied industries have obtained, which have built up and sustain our civilization. This variety of industries has made life a mutual exchange of relations: it has given man a power of association with his fellows; it has given him free scope for his capabilities and aptitudes; and, with the increase of his power over nature, has developed his individuality, and his sense of responsibility. Indeed, this variety of industry, involving a demand upon his faculties, this testing of his physical and mental capabilities, is at the basis of all that makes man, Man. He has become what he is by virtue of his freedom to respond to the best of his ability to the need of the hour; his freedom to conquer if he can, but go under if he must. Yet this liberty for man to select and dip into any occupation he chooses, has never seemed to interfere in the least with the permanence of those distinctive characteristics which are said to constitute manhood. He carries the masculine genius and temperament into all his methods, and though he not unfrequently chooses an occupation that would seem far better adapted to the deftness of a woman's fingers, and her peculiar sensibilities, yet he never loses thereby the marvelous power of appearing, at least in the eye of the woman he loves, as the man of men.

With these facts stereotyped in the race and life about us, does it not seem that the question before us involves a needless apprehension? Why will not woman, with every avenue of business and activity opened to her, retain her womanliness as naturally and surely as man has retained

his manliness? I think no argument can be brought forward to the contrary that may not be readily refuted. For, notwithstanding all changes which human progress has involved, the genius of sex remains immutable. I believe we may venture to rely under all circumstances, and through all future changes of society, upon the continuity of those characteristics which distinguish sex. And, if there are occupations and industries corresponding to these mental characteristics, as there doubtless are, then the logical result of opening all avenues of activity to woman, will be, that she will enter upon those that harmonize with her powers and aptitudes, those for which she has a natural proclivity; and, circumstances permitting, will give the others the go-by. Remove the artificial barriers which hinder woman's power of self-support, and she will find her natural limitations. Through all the histories of nations and peoples, whatever type of womanhood stood foremost in the popular thought, whether domestic, social or intellectual, I have never learned that woman lost or subordinated those characteristics of her ideal nature, those spiritual forces of the heart, which imperceptibly lift society to purer planes of thought and feeling. The patriotism of the Spartan mother did not destroy or lessen her love- nature, but led her to consecrate all its wealth and treasure to her country. No! as surely as man has remained man through all historic change, so surely will woman as his correlative and complement, carry the warmth of her heart life into any department she may choose to enter. And, although at present man may only have the vision to perceive mercenary motives in this phase of woman's advancement, yet, if he will consider the philosophy of progress, if he will reflect upon the fact that it is the heart force which woman represents in the social organism, that forms the moral and sympathetic inspiration of society, he will begin to perceive that for industry and capital to come in some degree under the direction of this force, is to secure to the activities of civilization not disaster, but consecration.

But the query which arises in the conscientious mind is this: if woman enters the department of business, she becomes more or less man's competitor, and, in order to achieve success, must adopt competitive methods, must become shrewd and calculating, must prevaricate and cheat. This argument appears substantial, but it has no more basis in necessity and facts than the stale assertion that women would become intensely ambitious for office, if they had the opportunity, and disabilities were removed. Practical experiment, however, has proven the reverse of this in organizations where women are placed on an exact equality with man in privilege, opportunity

and responbility. I have for some years been a member of a national organganization of this kind, and it has demonstrated woman's lack of ambition in the way of official position, and has also proven her sagacity in the selection of candidates, and we have not the least evidence in the whole history of the order, that she has ever sacrificed home duties to public ambitions. On the contrary, she has, in many instances, when unanimously elected to some of the highest official positions in the order, declined installation, lest the responsibilities of the office might interfere with the proper discharge of home duties. These facts I have from actual statistics in my possession.

The testimony from Wyoming also corroborates what I have stated, and I refer to these facts in order to make evident that the moral code of business and politics which obtains under masculine jurisdiction, is not necessarily that which woman will adopt when she enters these departments, but that she can and does carry with her that wisdom of a loving spirit, which, moving through all the confusion of human experience, is the wonder-working miracle which perpetually renews and regenerates society. This power of the woman nature to maintain itself and mold surroundings, is wonderful to think of; and when woman fully perceives the efficiency and quality of the power with which she is invested, she will not use it in vain.

If, then, actual experiment has proven that woman carries a superior insight and a purifying influence into that department of civilization that has become notorious for selfishness and corruption, the realm of politics, the inference is logical that she will take this same quality and influence into the business departments of life.

It is unquestionable that temptations to selfish and personal considerations lie all along the avenues of business; and the theories of political economy entertained by the masses today, are based upon the supposition that one person must of necessity gain at the expense of another; that one's good fortune is another's ill fortune; that the financial success of one man implies the robbery of another, etc. Now, if woman accepts this theory as the real philosophy of exchange, she will, of necessity, in setting up a business for herself, carry into it a depraved business conscience. But, fortunately, while woman is pausing and hesitating at the very entrance of this domain of human activity, a political science quite the reverse of this to which I have referred, begins to dawn in the popular thought.

It is that life is "a mutual exchange of relations," or, in other words, an exchange of benefits; a reciprocity of advantages. A has something which B needs and desires; B has something which A needs and desires; they

exchange to the mutual advantage of both. This is the philosophy of exchange, and, as a matter of convenience, money, the representative of value, and the instrument of association, is used to facilitate exchanges between individuals and nations. Now, whoever enters a business life with this conception of political science, carries into it not personal considerations only, but an altruistic perception of the relation of each to all; and we find that it is by no means in the nature and necessity of things that one person's comfort is another's discomfort, actual experiment having proven that one can obtain a just profit upon investment, without lessening but increasing the prosperity of others.

If, then, dishonesty and thieving are not necessary constituents of a business enterprise, there is little reason for fearing or presuming that woman will choose to adopt them should she enter this domain. We have far more reason to presume that she will prove to the world, through her enlarged opportunity, the fallacy of the old economy, and substantiate the righteousness of the new, which is, that life can and should be a reciprocity of advantages and blessings.

But, conceding that temptations to selfishness are continuous and multifarious in all business operations, and must therefore produce deleterious results upon woman's nature should she engage in such activities, the question arises, are these temptations more imminent or numerous than those which attend her as a woman of society, dependent upon man's favor for support, her rank in the popular scale rising or falling in accordance with conventional dictum? Can we imagine a position that would naturally induce more subtlety and double dealing, more of time serving purpose and motive? I think not. The wonder is that every woman does not prove herself a "wily Vivien" of fraud. And yet today, the woman of wealth and fashion in this great city, walks the alluring circle into which she is born, with a nature largely unspoiled by the evils and dangers attending her position. The woman heart endures—its generosity of love and emotion, its quick intuition of the beautiful and true. She is woman still.

But, concluding that a business life for woman does not necessarily involve methods that must impair her womanly excellencies, it is still important to ascertain in what manner her nature is likely to be modified by engaging in such enterprises. We often hear the expression, "he means business." What does this expression signify? From its varied application we perceive it bears no reference whatever to any especial occupation or employment, but that it relates wholly to a thoroughness in whatever we are undertaking;

a systematic energy which achieves success. We discover that a certain mental method and discipline attends all successful business operations, and when we wish to indicate the presence of this mental force, we say, it means business. This one word, "thoroughness," includes perhaps all that is involved in the business method. If we analyze it, it resolves itself into energy, order, persistence. To assume that these qualities are forces or factors hitherto unknown to woman's experience, is absurd. The most devoted wife, mother, and friend, is so by virtue of making a business of her devotion, in these several capacities. The genuine housekeeper means business in her occupation. The woman who by her suavity and culture attains great social influence, does it not by any work of chance, but by purposes which involve calculation as surely as weights and measures. The mental method therefore induced or developed by business operations, is the same as has always attended woman's experience, making even her graces a success, by turning them to purpose and account.

If it is argued that when woman, like man, enters upon a variety of avocations, when she sets up a business as a means of self-support and the accumulation of wealth, it will induce an undue development of persistence, energy and order, and so destroy the symmetry and gentleness of the woman character, we reply that it is irrational to imagine there can be too much thoroughness in any channel of human industry.

If woman's present timidity and want of self-reliance is supposed to render her more attractive to the opposite sex, we must remember Spencer's decision upon this point: that "the differences between the sexes which are preëstablished by nature, are always attractive; but when these differences are increased by superficial causes, they become a source of repulsion rather than attraction." A due proportion of vine and oak is beautiful and desirable; but a superabundance of the former might retard the growth of the latter, and favor decay at the heart.

It is unquestionable that women who enter upon avocations from which our sex has been previously excluded by circumstance and custom, do often exhibit a forcefulness and antagonism of character, which is not in harmony with the popular ideal of womanhood. But that such women exhibit this antagonism, this forcefulness of character, is by no means due to the occupation or profession in which they are engaged, but to the obstacles they are obliged to overcome in order to reach and hold the position. Only women of such temperament and persistence could do this; could pioneer the way for a reform that shall ultimately popularize woman's power of self-support.

They cast up a highway for those that are to come after. Honor and gratefulness be to them, for along this now rugged road, our daughters' daughters shall walk a path made smooth and easy, and with that dignity and grace which accompanies an attractive womanhood.

I think it is James Parton who says: "every great and successful cause commences in odium." This has certainly been true of every phase of woman's advancement. At every step the apprehension has been that she would lose her womanliness, her femininity. When she began to distinguish herself in the world of letters, she was caricatured in the popular thought as a "bluestocking," slipshod and out at the heels. Now, what breath of detraction could rise to touch the foreheads of George Eliot, Charlotte Brontè, Mrs. Browning, and scores of others who stand immortal in their places. Even the miraculous intellect of George Sand, holding a strength and depth exceptional even to the masculine brain, could not hide the dominant woman-heart behind the masculine **non de plume**, but it shone through the mask and burned along each line.

Mrs. Browning, in two immortal sonnets, addresses her with that transcendent recognition which one woman-heart can give another.

"Thou large brained woman, and large hearted man,
Self called George Sand! whose soul, amid the lions
Of thy tumultuous senses, moans defiance,
And answers roar for roar, as spirits can!
I would some mild miraculous thunder ran
Above the applauded circus, in appliance
Of thine own nobler nature's strength and science
Drawing two pinions, white as wings of swan
From thy strong shoulders, to amaze the place
With holier light! that thou to woman's claim,
And man's, might join beside the angels' grace
Of a pure genius sanctified from blame,
Till child and maiden pressed to thine embrace,
To kiss upon thy lips a stainless fame.

True genius, but true woman! dost deny
Thy woman's nature with a manly scorn,
And break away the gauds and armlets worn
By weaker women in captivity?

Ah vain denial! that revolted cry
Is sobbed in by a woman's voice forlorn!
Thy woman's hair, my sister, all unshorn,
Floats back disheveled strength in agony,
Disproving thy man's name! and while before
The world thou burnest in a poet fire,
We see thy woman-heart beat ever more
Through the large flame."

If we turn from woman's advance in literature to her experience as public speaker and orator, we find that she won the position under a pall of odium, the same objection arising at every step of the advance, that she would lose the feminine grace that charms and inspires society. The few heroic women who led the way in this forlorn advance not unfrequently posted their own bills, distributed their own circulars, and gathered for the most part such audiences as congregate in a country school house. But how is it now? There is a spontaneous spreading of palms before the feet of the lady orator who brings the earnestness of a consecrated heart nature into her public utterances.

And so we find that the present phase in which a few women are daring to make the first advance,, and take their chance of success or failure, a phase which involves not only self-support, but the recognized claims of profit and capital; this also must stand like its predecessors under the pall of opposition. But, from all preceding results, we have reason to believe that this phase even will not eliminate from the woman nature those feminine characteristics, which are the unconscious inspiration of social activities; and the only real question about which we need to concern ourselves is this: Are we now at that stage of social development when this phase of advance is appropriate? Is it the necessary sequence of preceding causes? Is it the right thing in the right place, or should it be postponed to a future period, society not yet being ripe for such procedure? This consideration is of great importance, and can only be determined by examining the order, the system, the curriculum by which the great body—the race—has proceeded from the beginning, on the road of advancement. This great body, of which women are the larger component, proceeds in an order as natural and definite as the development of the individual. And we observe that the parent who rears and educates a child, lays out for it a plan of physical, moral, and intellectual training, which will be most likely to secure for it at maturity a full possession of its powers and capabilities. But to secure this, he finds that he must apply his plan of education

in a certain order. If he does not apply it in that order, he subverts his entire purpose. For instance, it is desirable and necessary that his child should some day have a knowledge of mathematics and logic, and the science of language. But if he forces these upon the child's attention at too early an age, the chances are that he will turn out a lunatic instead of an individual of culture. So he commences and applies his plan in an order adapted to the unfolding capacities of the child and its changing attractions; an order which, as the child advances in years, proceeds from the simple to the complex, from the concrete to the abstract sciences. Now, just as peril and subversion would attend the forcing of those studies upon a child, which belong to maturer years, so would retrogression and disorder be introduced into society, if, in our present degree of civilization, we attempt those steps which belong to a later period of progress. And yet this is the mistake of those who keep their mental gaze so fixed upon the future ideals of life, that they overlook the safe and sure steps which lead up to them. Hence, after ascertaining all the means to be applied in order to bring about a certain result, it is of great moment that we determine correctly when such application should take place. A failure in the order of time may render the attainment of our ideals impossible. Now, just as the child's education and conduct is regulated with reference to its maturity, so the woman of today should endeavor to regulate her life and its activities with reference to the crowning welfare of the race, and the position woman must attain in the ideal future. For the woman of the present age to attempt to realize this future ideal, is as irrational and subversive as for a child to attempt those achievements which belong to maturity, and are only successfully attained by orderly processes of unfoldment. Our present work is to build up with patient strength our one step of victory toward this ideal. And though some of these steps "slope through darkness," let us remember it is the pathway toward the day.

"Be sure you're right, then go ahead," is a maxim that merits its popularity; and if woman ascertains that her next step in advance means business, and the accumulation of wealth, she must take it and trust the unfailing order for beneficial results. And the first evidence that her next step is to attain this, lies in the fact referred to in the beginning of this discourse; that women outnumber men to such a degree as to preclude the possibility of marriage for a large portion of our sex, thus rendering self-support a necessity. The second proof lies in the historic development of society; in the scientific classification of its activities. The natural order of a true classification is, according to Spencer, as follows: 1st. Those activities which directly

minister to self-preservation. 2nd. Those activities which by securing the necessaries of life, indirectly minister to self-preservation. 3d. Those activities which have for their end the rearing and disciplining of offspring. 4th. Those activities which are involved in the maintenance of proper, social and political relations. 5th. Those miscellaneous activities which make up the leisure part of life, devoted to the gratification of the tastes and feelings. Such is the natural order of the growth and ripening of activities for the individual and the race.

A glance at this order, makes evident that a portion of the world of women have entered upon that 2d phase of activity which indirectly ministers to self-preservation, by securing the necessaries of life; that is, by attaining the power of self-support, and making financial independence possible. We have come to this point in the march, and we must have the trust, the faithfulness, and the heroism to proceed. A large class of women are being pushed by the order of events, whether they will or no, into the world of force, and they must sustain themselves or sink. The eagle tosses her eaglets into the air that they may learn to use their wings. The strong bird of liberty and progress is lifting woman into the world of force, and she must find her wings or take the consequences. If we question the justice and propriety of such fortune, we arraign the order and sequence of things; the system of laws which spheres the stars and orbs society. We are in this phase of social evolution; and what if it does seem distasteful in the light of that ideal to which woman will one day attain? There would be nothing more distasteful to the agriculturist than stump-pulling, if it held no further significance than the work itself. But this same stump-pulling means order, beauty, convenience, comfort, home, society, civilization. And does the agriculturist lose his aptitude for this ultimate fruition of his labors because he pioneers? No! It only generates a royal appreciation within him for all that is to come after.

A further evidence that a time has arrived in woman's advancement, when her aim and purpose should be that of self-support, and if possible the accumulation of wealth, is found in the fact that this phase of the advance is appropriate to the further development and carrying out of that order of activities which Spencer has classified. For when woman, through a varied demand upon her capabilities and faculties, becomes thus individualized and clothed with responsibility, she will then ask herself that question of questions: "What does it most concern me to know?" She will seek for a mental equipment which shall bear direct relation to the work she has in hand. As she cannot compass all knowledge, she will seek to acquire that which relates

to the activities in which she is engaged. It is the necessary consequence of her enlarged field of operation. And in this lies the very basis and hope of educational reform. The importance of a knowledge of the concrete sciences, and their vital relation to human progress, will become so evident, as to gradually dispel the false prestige which sustains the present curriculum of education, and the wonder will be that society should have progressed at all under such disjointed and irrelevant methods of education. Such educational reform would constitute the very basis and substance of those activities which Spencer formulates as the third department, and having for their end the rearing and disciplining of offspring. For all questions of education point to this end. by seeking a more unerring standard by which a human being may go forward from childhood to maturity. The ultimate bearing of all activities induced by educational reform, is the training and disciplining of the nascent mind..

Then, what next? For one step leads on another; one social ideal attained, makes way for another. Woman having become individualized and self-sustaining, a proper training for mind and body being established, then will come into the foreground of popular thought, a higher conception of our social and political relations, inducing those efforts which Spencer formulates as the fourth department of activities. Then the question of a scientific adjustment of society, which now exists only as the philosopher's ideal will be brought to the front of popular consideration. And the crowning evidence that woman's present venture is appropriate to the time, is in the fact that she begins to perceive that this fourth department of activities can never be adequately realized except through the moralization of wealth; the consecration of capital to social welfare. To regulate social activities with a view to the higher happiness and perfection of the race, we must some way secure to the industrial classes the equivalents of wealth; must secure to them in the home-life those material arrangements and conditions which shall tend to preserve, develop and perfect human life and glorify industry. This is the duty which capital owes to labor; for these appropriate external conditions, wealth only can supply. Women, I have reason to believe, are getting a more accurate perception than men, of the social obligations of wealth. We know that there are certain social problems which can only be solved through the consecration of capital, and I, for one, have burdened the very depths of my heart with the responsibility of suggesting some of these problems which the head of man should solve. But his mills of justice grind so slowly, and the "cry of the human" comes up so piercingly to my ear, through all the bustle

and gayety of this great city, nor wall nor door ever once shutting it away, that my very soul would lay hold of the "sinews of war" and conquer the peace of humanity. And what I feel in my heart, I will put in the hearts of the women who love and inspire me, and there it shall throb and germinate to social fruition, though it should not be until a thousand years are told.

Woman's need of self-support, and her consequent right being proven by the combined testimony of History, Philosophy and Science, the duty before us is to increase and encourage by every possible means woman's business opportunities, to render such opportunities attractive by all the social prestige we can throw about them, to demand a proper qualification for thoroughness in her calling, and to give such compensation for her services as the quantity and quality of her work justifies. The language of Aurora Leigh carries with it to the world of women at least the authority of eternal reason when she says, "Get leave to work in this world; 'tis the best you get at all. For God in cursing gives us better gifts than men in benedictions. God says 'sweat' for foreheads. Men say 'crowns.' And so we are crowned. Aye, gashed by some tormenting circle of steel that snaps with a secret spring. Get work! Get work! Be sure 'tis better than what you work to get."

When woman's efforts at self-support and financial independence shall have won success and popular prestige, then society will begin to enter upon that fifth class of activities "which make up the leisure part of life devoted to the gratifications of the tastes and feelings." Every individual who reaches this class of activities, enters upon the fruition of all the labors and aspirations of the previous years. So will it be with humanity. All the travail of the ages is to bring the race to this ripened phase of progress. Into this heaven of art and culture woman will bring forward the results of each era of her advancement. She will bring into it the genius of industry, the genius of motherhood, the genius of citizenship, and all will be wrought up into the high art of life. Into every domain she will carry that essentially womanly principle which has characterized her as wife and mother; the principle of devotion and self-forgetfulness. Instinctively the woman heart looks forward, and yearns to attain this ideal, when she shall stand above the toil of the ages, her own spiritual self, the very priestess of the race. In the light of that future glory, may the woman of the present age be heroic to take the necessary steps toward that better adjustment of society, when her spiritual nature shall permeate every department of civilization, and the warmth of her heart-life shall be as the sun of righteousness with healing in its beams.

SCIENCE AND ITS RELATION TO HUMAN CHARACTER.

There are individuals in this world of ours who appear to be concrete expressions of law and order. We suppose they must be very worthy; indeed we never doubt it; yet somehow we are not particularly desirous to become intimately acquainted with them, or to make our path and theirs contiguous. We know they must be eminently useful; but this knowledge, even, does not draw us to them with any sense of unity. If they would make a mistake sometime or commit a slight error, they would not seem so adamantine and invulnerable, and something like sympathy might spring up between us. We feel ourselves under a kind of obligation to profoundly respect them; but we are no wise in love with them.

Precisely in this manner, hitherto, has been our knowledge and recognition of Science. She is the constant and enduring,—the sum and body of immutable law. Her triumphant feet hurry not for wreck or ruin, for hope or joy. We feel her compelling service, but follow her afar off. For has she not the power of a Gorgon over such as adore her? Is there any kindling light in her glance? Is there love in her eyes? We are under respectful and eternal obligations to her for external blessing and discipline; but does she vivify and exalt the inward springs of character? Can she invest the aspiring human mind with that eagle strength and poise that can raise it triumphant over external desolation? We revere her as the transformer and builder of the material universe; but has she a warm magnetic touch to give the human heart?

Science as it exists in human conception, is certain knowledge;—knowledge which admits of verification. This conception therefore necessarily grows with the accumulation of human experiences, and the facts deduced therefrom. Certain knowledge, to the primitive man, could by no means have stood for all that Science indicates to modern understanding. It must have been a mere skeleton in human thought, compared with the majestic proportions it has since assumed, in entering into man's cumulative experience—a meagre outline of an ever growing reality, which in these later days we have named

Science, and of whose future comeliness, we may venture, I think, to indulge a rational hope.

To the primitive man, certain knowledge meant primarily how to sustain life. It was to know light and darkness, summer and winter, and how to take advantage of them. He found that the art of subsistance bore immediate relation to the order and sequence which surrounded him;—was built upon it. Very likely he did not attempt to name this principle of order and sequence, or his recognition of it. He was seeking rather how to adjust his efforts to this unvarying authority that every where and at all times surrounded him.

To the savage, Science was a knowledge of certain means by which he could catch fish, use fire and construct the bow and arrow. To this the barbarian added a knowledge of certain unerring rules out of which grew the art of pottery, the domestication of animals, the cultivation of cereals, the use of brick and stone, the smelting of iron ore, and the use of iron tools. "Civilization," says Morgan, "rests upon iron."

It appears then, that the industrial arts by which man attains subsistance, and has gained slowly, step by step, an ascendency over Nature, have been developed, one after another, through man's increasing knowledge and application of scientific principles. These industrial arts mark the ethnical periods of human advancement, from the creeping progress of the first savage who grunted his monosyllable of satisfaction over his crudely fashioned arrow head, to the present geometrical rate of advancement, in which a wise man is able to deduce from the facts of science, a philosophy on which to base his spiritual as well as material well-being.

The needs of the early man must have led to the immediate practical application of all knowledge touching his pleasure, his comfort, his convenience. Not faith in human progress, but a desire to obtain relief from individual want and apprehension, led him to wrestle as best he might with the seeming antagonism of Nature. Thus by the compelling necessities of self, the early man wrought out and gathered up that diminutive stock of knowledge, which through its marvellous development in human history, has secured to man every advantage, whereby he is enabled to bless his fellow man. For Science, in her ever widening supremacy, has begotten wealth and leisure for the race, and hence opportunity. But what kind of opportunity? Does she not deal out this legacy with equal generosity to morality and immorality? Is there aught in the terms of her intercourse with man, whereby wrong is weakened, and worth is sanctioned? Does she modify the elements of human character in the in-

terest of good rather than of evil? Is there a power in the mental constitution of the race that makes for righteousness, and if so, is it the antagonist of Science, or are they twain of one nature and impulse, toiling at the divine drama of existence. This is an important and seemingly recondite question for investigation.

In the earlier periods of human experience, man had not gathered sufficient data on this point, to warrant any attempts at a conclusion; but in these later days of careful research and Positive Philosophy, we are justified perhaps in making the trial. And fortunately, the development of history has furnished a key to this problem, by revealing the analogy between the mental unfoldment of the race and that of the individual. Both the student and the general reader are so well acquainted with this fact, that any verification of the statement in this connection would be, quite superfluous.

We have, then, only to study the ways and means of mental growth in that little savage of modern time we call the "baby," to ascertain how mental capacity slowly unfolded in the eons of the pre-historic time. For, our question is not of the convolution and texture of the modern brain, as compared with that of the early period, but how does character of any quantity or quality obtain? It is a matter of method we are investigating; and as all organic or constructive processes fall under the same general and unvarying laws, we have only to carefully note the order of mental expansion that goes on with the child, to gain an apprehension of the mental method on which the Being of Humanity has proceeded.

We observe then, in the beginning, that the new born babe gives not the least indication of moral instinct or sensibility; yet from the very first it gives evidence of a capability whereby it slowly gathers up its little reliable fund of knowledge. It begins to know this from that; its mother's voice and touch from the voice and touch of others. It learns in a very short time how and where to find relief from the sensation of hunger; and later on, it discerns the difference between heat and cold, day and night, danger and safety. Its knowledge therefore, or education, begins to expand and build up from the first, and its mental growth builds primarily upon the principle of discrimination, or the difference between things. This fact is worthy of note. For if the principle of discrimination is the foundation of all knowledge, it should form the basis of all genuine methods of instruction.

But as yet our baby has no moral symptoms. By and by it begins to manifest æsthetic tendencies. It reaches for bright colors. It crows at your whistle and chirrup. Imagination evidently begins to awaken. But it is not

until it comes to know what it is to get a chance at things, that it gives any evidence of the moral sentiment, or begins to know right from wrong. Its first lesson in morality, comes with its first power or opportunity to do something that results in harm. Then the faithful parent, perhaps, raps the little meddlesome fingers that have done the mischief, and the child begins its alphabet in the "ought not" and "must not" of life. It is its first recognition of an authority which it can serve or disobey, and in which service or disobedience, the germ of conscience or morality, becomes quickened into a fact of consciousness.

It appears, then, that there is quite a prelude of mental growth, a storing up of certain knowledge, before there is an opportunity for choice between right and wrong. In other words there is somewhat, of an educational development, before the moral faculty can possibly awaken or find expression;—before conscience can become a part of character.

If then the life of the race is an educational process from the lowest savagery to the highest civilization, it can hardly be doubted that its infancy was brought forward by the same law of mental beginning and unfoldment. There must have been a long period, in which man's limited comprehension was engaged in learning the difference between this and that; what was painful, and what was pleasureable; what served his physical wants, and what thwarted them;—what was attractive, and what repulsive to the eye. And during this process, he ultimately gained an advantage over conditions, whereby he found himself possessed of a power that could, relatively speaking, do harm; that could work an evil result; that could destroy beauty. The baby's chance at things came into his experience, and the authority of moral responsibility was born into human consciousness. Science, or certain knowledge, had constructed its cradle, and prepared a way whereby Human Nature became dignified by the religious sentiment. And we may rationally infer that the moral instinct must necessarily have remained locked away and without rootage, had not knowledge prepared conditions for its growth. That is—the germ of the moral sentiment, finds no avenue of practical expression, save as knowledge unfolds a way, whereby it may bless the domain of human life.

The man who knew nothing of the means by which fish could be secured from the streams, or of the use of fire in cooking,—even had he possessed a heart of pity for a hungry waif, could hardly have done better than give him a stone for bread, and a serpent in lieu of a fish. No! that illustration of eternal and fraternal love, uttered under Judea's blessed sky, would never have been born into human speech, had not Science at the forge of destiny,

prepared human life for its reception. That the race could ever find the doorway of Heaven here or elsewhere, without this accumulative Power, this growing Presence, hewing the way, before us, is a supposition that will not bear analysis. It is doubtful if imagination, even, would ever have evoked so noble an aspiration in the heart of man, had not the incipient arts, based upon man's knowledge of things, secured to him sufficient leisure for his holy reverie. For the pressure of hunger, and pain, and dread, must have become materially lessened, before the beautiful and transcendent could have found place in his mental constitution. If, then, the facts of human experience have proven that the moral sentiment neither obtains, nor finds practical expression, except as knowledge prepares life for its introduction, we are justified in the conclusion, that the growth and activity of the moral principle in human affairs, all that from the beginning has raised man in the scale of character above his brute relations, is the progress of Science, or the accumulation of positive knowledge. Is it so difficult then to recognize Humanity's benefactors?

In the earlier periods of history, there was an unverified astronomical theory, which by its universal acceptance, laid the foundation of a false estimate of man's rank and position in the universe. This false estimate necessarily affected his motives,—his incentive to effort—and consequently deter mined largely the quality of his activities. I refer to the incomplete system instituted by Hipparchus, a Greek who flourished one hundred and sixty years before Christ. This system was preserved, brought forward, and supplemented in the second century, by Ptolemy. In this plan the Earth was, so to speak, the "hub" of the universe around which, and for which, circulated the marvelous heavens. And as man was king and sovereign in this earthly abode, therefore he must be that central idea in the infinite plan, to which all other ideas bore subordinate relations. He was the focus of God's concentration, the central figure for which an omnipotent designer had chosen to express himself.

The effect of this theory upon character, upon the incentives of conduct, may be readily inferred. It led Man to have no purpose beyond himself:—no motive in which he, the individual, was not the primary consideration. He conceived no plan, either for this world or for the next, in which he, the individual, did not stand as the centre around which all his hopes, his fears, and his ambitions revolved. The problem of existence became to him a persistent struggle to secure a comfortable birth both here and hereafter. Thus an overweaning egoism took possession of human character, distorting

man's inward truth to a correspondence with the external falsity he had accepted. There were exceptions of course, to this general statement; here and there a soul who held the key of human destiny, and stood as highest expression of promise for the future character of the race. But the sum of human motive was, as has been stated, essentially egoistic.

The necessary consequence of all this in the public and private details of life is not easily estimated. That it has influenced more or less the nature of all our social relations affecting our institutions, and the organization of our industries, seems unquestionable. For the logical outcome of this egoism, has not been wholly that arbitrary dogmatism that marred the beauty of our Christianity, but its last destructive wave, sweeping onward into our own time, is that unscientific conception of individualism, which casts up wreck after wreck upon the dreadful shores of a blighting experience.

But when positive astronomical truth was gained, that is, when an hypothesis which admitted of verification was given to men—when the Copernican system took the place of the old,—it was the little leaven dropt in the measure of human impulse which has modified, and is destined yet more largely to modify, the quality of man's motives. In this system, our earth finds herself one of an infinitely associative body, and in wholly a common place attitude in relation to the infinitude of space and the universe of worlds. Hence Man rationally infers, that as there are other planetary systems than our own, and as development is proven to be the method of organic life, it is quite possible and probable that there are sentient existences in the universe more human than himself; that is in a more perfect condition of moral and intellectual advancement. The effect of this astronomical theory therefore is to reduce human conceit. The factor that had become pernicious through undue prominence in the Man's will and motive, positive Science binds over to keep the peace.

A familiar illustration of this argument, may be found in the case of a young man of genius or ability, born and reared in a little country village. He is the marvel around which the rustic neighborhood revolves; and he comes to believe himself not only the wonder of his little community, but of all other communities also when he shall start out to make a stir in the world. But when he is really merged in the larger streams of life and experience, he finds himself comparatively of little consequence. His fellows are legion who equal or surpass him in ability. It seems both folly and madness to contend for the prizes of ambition and distinction. He feels thoroughly sobered. He looks around him, recognizes his true place among his fellows, and becomes sane.

He concludes that to act well his part, is about all he shall attempt. He consecrates his motive and purpose, first of all, to the good of his kind:—to that great flow of life we name Humanity; beside which, and in which he is but the merest drop. Then to his great surprise, he wakes up some morning, to find that quite unconsciously he has really made a stir in the world; but until his self estimate was corrected, he only succeeded in making a stir within himself.

This is precisely the kind of result which modern Science is working out in civilization. The fact of the fraternity of worlds compels the race to relinquish its ancient and childish self-estimate, to set before itself new standards of attainment; and the centuries are upon us wherein the concrete Humanity must vindicate its merit, by perfecting its work.

At first it seems surprising, that we have been able, under this severe lesson of Science, to lay aside our former exalted self-estimate, and substitute another that renders us more efficient and usful to mankind. Why does not Human Nature in a sudden recoil before inevitable facts, cast aside energy and self-respect, and with listless hands stand driveling over its disappointment? Whence indeed comes such dignity of humiliation? Science alone makes answer. For, if the telescope taught man a lesson of mediocrity, the microscope came and taught him the relative importance of details, the inestimable worth of little things. Science is the true revelator of uses and values. She proves that in the universal economy, naught can be held as indifferent. The perfectness of the whole depends upon the perfectness of minutia. Hence, in reducing man's estimate of his rank in the universe, she has revealed to his understanding the relative importance of his activities.

Nor does she imbue him with false enthusiasm. His zeal is according to knowledge. He does not see as through a glass darkly. By the illumination of positive knowledge, every individual is able to ascertain his or her exact degree in the scale of culture. For through the developing processes of language, oral and written, history has been constructed and preserved, and through this medium, and the silent witnesses in deposit and strata, the buried past is exhumed, and the primitive man comes forth, rehabilitated in the usages and customs of his time. That is—through the development of history, a science of ethnology has been deduced, whereby we are enabled to reach into the pre-historic period, and trace the chain of culture through all phases of advancement, from the savage to the civilized man. Thus there is found to be a uniformity of human experience in the ethnical periods of widely separated nations and races. The prevalence of certain ideas and institutions

among a people, mark a certain ethnical stage of advancement. Now by acquainting himself with these laws of culture which determine the line of march Humanity has followed, and remembering the analogy of mental unfoldment between the race and the individual, a man is able to ascertain to his own secret dismay or satisfaction, whether, in his ideas of government, religion, or sociology, he is a savage, a barbarian, or a civilized man. He can not shut the eyes of his understanding to this criterion, if he is once put in possession of it. He can fold no flattering unction of conceit to his soul. He discovers whether his beliefs or principles belong to the past, present, or future; whether he is in the rear or the vanguard of Progress; whether he is a laggard or a leader among his fellows; and if the latter, whether he is leading them forward or backward. And if he adheres to scientific truth in this matter, he has positive knowledge in what phase of thought or belief he needs reformation, reconstruction, or development, in order to become an integral man.

The fact of knowing our true place in the ethnical scale of culture, is by no means unimportant. If a young man in a high school or college were without any criterion by which to judge of his own grade of advancement, we readily perceive that he would not only be somewhat at sea in his efforts, with a great deal of mistaken expenditure of force, but he would be quite likely to over-estimate his degree of advancement, and repose lazily on his supposed acquirements. But the curriculum reveals his true educational status, and the necessity of studious application. In the same way a true knowledge of one's place in the chain of culture, becomes an incentive to rational effort and enthusiasm.

But it may be urged that this desirable mental result, directly traceable to the causes I have specified, is only accessible to thinkers and scholars, to the philosopher and the poet. For these only Science unfolds the penetralia of her wisdom. Grown patrician in her favors, it is but meagre blessing, intellectual or moral, which she holds for the pulsing tide of human life, surging through all the avenues of industrial activity. Let us examine this point in all candor.

First of all, then, it is evident that the whole race, high and low, ignorant and cultured, idiot and philosopher, have all, as one body, entered into the results of Science, into the discoveries, inventions, and institutions which constitute civilization. Not one of us can get out of it if we would; not one of us would if we could. It is the social habitat into which the masses are being born, and they can no more get away from its advantages, than the smallest

blossom on the sod can escape the spring sunshine. The rapid progress of Science within the last two hundred years has opened to the humblest conditions in life increased opportunities for knowledge and enjoyment; and yet it does really seem to the thoughtful observer that society is becoming more and more superficial, that there is less of genuineness and more of shoddy among its leaders, while in the various phases of literature and art, sensationalism is at premium.

Upon reflection, the causes seem obvious. We are much like petted children, half-spoiled with their gifts and privileges, and so giddy and elate they scarcely tarry to learn the worth and uses of what they already possess, but are ever on the alert for something new, have a chronic desire for excitement, are characterized by undue restlessness, know a little of everything and are profound in nothing, in short, these children well illustrate the temperament of Humanity, since it has entered so largely into the benefits of Science as embodied in civilization. Hence it is scarcely a wonder, that with the conscientious and thoughtful, apprehensions arise as to whither we are drifting. The masses are up to only common place standards, and their leaders are but time servers. Even Genius prostitutes its ideals, preferring the thin praise of the hour, rather than the larger and deeper sanction of a wiser posterity.

There is also a widening of the news spirit. Tattle and gossip largely dominate, because we are so much abroad, mind as well as body, we do not come home to face our central selves. This dominance of what we may perhaps call the centrifugal force of character, leads educationally among the people to a diffusion of knowledge, but to a scarcity of deep thinking; and one of the results of that leisure which Science has secured to the people, is a kind of reading, which in quantity and quality, produces intellectual dyspepsia. Too much reading, and too little thinking induces mental laziness, and therefore a general lack of mental muscle and fibre; which incapacitates the mind for producing or appreciating any thing but sensationalism.

Is there then no compensation for this apparent deterioration? Does Science instruct us how to gain the whole world in order that we may lose, our own souls? Let us not be over hasty in our judgments. There is a moral undertow to this froth and flash on the surface. The progress of things has led human character into a transitionary period. It is the necessary prelude to the maturing processes of a higher civilization. That mental appetite which we define as the ability of adapting means to an end, and which was largely confined to the leaders in society and government, has during the last century,

been quickened to a wonderful degree among the masses by the exercise of this faculty.

This mental aptitude, therefore, is in a thriving condition of development; and the improvement in woman's industrial status during the last fifty years,—unsatisfactory as it may be—sufficiently illustrates the fact. Her increased opportunity to exercise such measure of ability as she may possess, and vindicate her right and power of self-support, is one of the indications whither we are drifting.

Again the increased facilities for transportation and commerce between peoples, effect not only national industries by securing an exchange of product and wealth, but it induces and accomplishes an interchange of ideas and sentiments between different races; bringing acquaintance, and a realizing sense of the brotherhood of man. The European finds that although he holds an eminent position over his Asiatic or African brother in the scale of culture, yet the same germs of principle and impulse lie in the mental constitution of all peoples, and need only the slow and orderly processes of scientific development to bring them to his own grade of advancement. And the American, despite his crudities, glorifies his name and nation in the fact that under the flag of his country, in the name of Freedom and Equality, all nations can gather as one.

From this extended acquaintance of man with man, kindlier impulses, and nobler generosities have crept into individual character. Charity is no longer confined to almsgiving. It modifies our opinions of the conduct and motives of our fellow men. A natural and healthy sympathy balances our decisions there-upon. In fact, these results of positive knowledge, not only illuminate the golden rule, revealing it as a sovereign law in moral science but furnish also the only conditions by which it could be introduced practically and at wholesale into the affairs of man;—the only conditions by which it can become incorporated into the common heart of Humanity.

This direct and extended acquaintance of man with man before referred to, results in such indications as the fraternal association of industry and art which glorified America's Centennial, and in which a world's activities found representation; also in Evangelical Alliances in which non-essentials are discarded that Christians may fuse into one brotherhood of purpose and action; and last but not least in the late international Congress on Public Moralty held in Geneva, in which thirteen countries were represented, "the delegation comprising the most prominent philanthropists and reformers of Europe."

Again, from the acquaintance of race with race, a science of human nature

is being obtained, which serves as a practical guide and protection in our intercourse with society. We meet a stranger, and are able almost at a glance to estimate his mental and moral status and whether it is desirable or dangerous to affiliate with or transact business with him. We have learned enough of comparative physiognomy from the faces that have entered into our complex experiences, to judge whether the countenance of the stranger holds a Quaker's honesty, or a horse-jockey's shrewdness. We note the voice, gesture, and walk that accompanies merit and demerit, and the chances of deception and its resultant evils are sensibly lessened. We pass a man on the street. He is impressive and attracts the eye. We have never spoken to or shaken hands with him; yet in passing we are somehow impressed that he is not genuine.

What then is impression? It is really a modern term for a certain mental cerebration, incited doubtless, at the opportune moment, by an accumulation of former experiences unconsciously locked away in the reservoirs of the brain.

In plainer terms, it is sagacity based upon scientific data and no other. It is well to heed it; for there is a law governing our attractions and repulsions that carries the seal of the whole universe upon it. This, too, Science has taught us. The sources, then of moral protection have been augmented and strengthened, and from these seemingly common-place results, the special sciences of Phrenology and Psychology have been deduced.

Yet it may be asked, what real advance have we made in all this, if it is to be accompanied by that childish sensationalism and vain glory that characterizes our time? Are there scientific data for indulging a hope that this superficiality will be eliminated in the ages that are coming. Investigation and reflection convince us that there is reason for such a hope, and its basis may be found in the following statements and their necessary conclusions.

It has been found from the accumulative evidence of human experience, that individual character, when naturally developed, when least thwarted or distracted from its normal line of advance, passes through three successive stages; the theological,* the metaphysical, and the scientific. These phases are in no true sense antagonistic to each other; but sustain that relation to one another which exists between childhood, youth, and maturity. For as the period of youth retains something of the traits of childhood, mingled with the larger promises of manhood, so in the metaphysical stage of character, something of theological superstition is curiously blended with indications of the ultimate scientific phase which is to follow. These three phases, the theological, the metaphysical, and the scientific, are successive developments of

* The word *theological* here is used in the sense of superstition;—not religion.

one principle, which forms the vital progressive force of character, is the basis of the religious sentiment, and which we may name integrity. The nature of this principle, as personal character advances from one to another of these phases, necessitates a carrying forward from one to the other, all that will serve individual unfoldment, but drops what is no longer of use, as something out-grown, and a hindrance. Indeed what is no longer of service, slips away, independent of individual will or caprice, as the character broadens in higher grades of advancement.

The clearest and most unique illustration of this normal progress in character, is found in the transformation of the tadpole. This very simple and interesting speciment of being—the tadpole, wholly submerged in its liquid environment, sports the hours away, quite unconscious that there are latent and nobler functions for navigation folded away in its breast. If it knows anything at all, it knows it is a tadpole and evidently the possibility of its being anything but a tadpole is "unthinkable." In this sense of certainty, it gulps down what the highest order of known existences has stigmatized as "mud;" but which is to the tadpole the "elixir of life." It is wholly in the first period; in the superstitious or theological stage. But it is true to the law of its life,—it is integral,—at one with itself. But some day we notice that something like inaction seems stealing over our hitherto energetic tadpole. It appears dreamy, and in a state more or less of quiescent abstraction; and by sharp looking we observe that a metaphysical excrescense or membrane, has appeared near its theological lever of transportation. It does not seem to know what to make of it any more than we do, and gives no symptom of what is to come of it. It does not seem to have as much life and force as formerly, for it is neither one thing nor another; and as the ligament with its rudimentary claw elongates and strengthens from day to day, and a similar phenomenon appears on the other side of its body, there is a suspicion that possibly the tadpole phase may fail it altogether; for the vitality of its theological paddle, seems passing into its metaphysical legs. It is wholly in the transitionary state of the second period; and it is difficult to find data by which to estimate its unity—its fidelity to the constructive law of its being. That is, its integrity in the metaphysical period is somewhat befogged. It does not care much for mud now, but it frequently assumes a self-complacent, perpendicular position, poises serenely at the surface, and makes a bubble: that is, blows that "whatever is, is right."

But one morning we look again at our tadpole, and what do we behold? A most wonderful change! The front legs have seemingly burst forth from

the restraining membrane in a single night: the eyes are largely dilated, and it displays a white breast. The propelling lever that was of such inestimable service in the first period of transformation, now melts utterly away; and the little creature is not only invested with increased powers of advancement, but seemingly with new incentives for action; for although mud-eating and bubble-blowing may be the chief end of tadpoles and metaphysicians, it should be held as recreation only by a responsible frog. For it has attained the third or scientific phase, and strikes out with hip and claw for Terra Firma. It has passed the critical period, when its unity is doubtful, and so many tadpoles yield up vitality altogether.

Henceforth its life means business. It sits as a purifier of the element which surrounds it, relentlessly annihilating the minute forms of existence that infest the atmosphere.

It has found positive work at last.

The analogy between the transformation cited, and the three periods of mental progress, is evident almost without comment. In our first, or wholly theological stage, we have a certainty about ideas and theories, which while it gives us somewhat of conceit and dogmatism, it also renders us efficient and active. And as the tadpole is at that period, definite, integral, at one with its self, so we at this time have a definite conscience, and a vital religious sentiment.

But passing on to the metaphysical period, we are truly neither one thing nor another whatever we may think about it. We live more in dreamy rapturous abstractions than in realities. Conscience, or the religious sentiment, has come forward into this second stage, but seems more indefinite, and waits becalmed in its own fog. Despite the urgency of toilsome duty, a kind of delicious inertia possesses us, except when we give a superficial glance at things, and blow that "whatever is, is right."

But coming forward into the final mental stage of progress, the conscience not only becomes definitely active, but the religious sentiment, more vital than ever, is recognized as the organic element of character. We find that religion is really a science within, corresponding with the science without, each the correlate and verification of the other. That it is an arrangement of all the force in man's interior being which makes him at one with the universe; that causes his life to flow forward with the life of things, that makes his thought and action constructive, as the vital processes of Nature. We come to perceive that the "Power that makes for Righteousness," in man and society, is dual. That Religion and science are twin forces working toward a common ulti-

mate;—the establishment of unity, or universal harmony; that Science reveals the method of attaining this unity, and Religion or conscience is the propelling force that makes us choose to follow such a method.

We find, then, that Science, when it is not as now kept outside of us, when it enters into our lives and is consciously chosen as a guide to character, in no wise narrows the domain of conscience, but extends its empire to the circumference of human thought and action. We may therefore venture to affirm that there has never and can never be found aught in the nature of science to conflict with the religious sentiment in human character, because its domain includes this sentiment. And also that there has never, and can never be found aught in the religious principle which conflicts with the philosophy of Science; since this principle is that unitizing constructive element which lies at the heart of things, and propels the pulses of order.

I know there are individuals who think themselves so deeply religious, that in their judgment, the principles of Science are only a picayune affair compared with the important question of Predestination. Transubstantiation, Free Will, the Nature of God, etc. It is probable that in no way could they so thoroughly prove the immaturity as their religious condition. There are others also who profess to be devotees of Science; yet hold an air of lofty disdain or churlish indifference toward the religious principle. It is a glorious display of their ignorance, and a complete verification of their unscientific position.

Returning now to the three phases into which mind in the individual normally unfolds, we discover the scientific reason for believing that the race itself must ultimately attain this mature and positive phase of development, since history proves the indisputable fact, that man, the individual, is the race in epitome. The laws that determine his culture are identical with those which determine the unfoldment of that larger being—Humanity; and from babyhood to manhood, his course like the race is from savagery to enlightenment. Science then furnishes us a criterian as to the present tendencies of character, and whither we are drifting. In other words the ability to predict the future,— the gift of prevision is the important attainment that Science makes possible to us.

Undoubtedly the character of civilization has entered upon that metaphysical period, when it is neither one thing nor the other;—is not definite or at one with itself; when it appears indifferent or demoralized, and like the metaphysical tadpole displays its energy largely by poising at the surface of things to make a blow.

But all this is transitionary. The scientific spirit has come into the at-

mosphere of thought, and must eventually evolve a scientific conscience for man. Hence the great body of Humanity, which at present enters only into the external results of Science, making the rough old world a thing of beauty, shall by inward acceptance in the ages that are coming, construct a paradise within to match the paradise without.

And it will not be a rubbing out of the old conscience and substituting a new, but it will be the positive enlightenment of the moral force; a bringing it forward as all the other mental faculties are being brought forward, from a condition of savagery to the highest possibility; for every separate mental faculty in its development passes through the three ethnical periods as certain as man himself.

Doubtless there are many learned individuals who believe they already possess and obey a scientific conscience.

Doubtless they are correct so far as it goes; but its scientific quality is in its primitive phase, and is therefore material in method and result. It means for the most part to its possessor, all that generally comes under the term hygiene. It means wholesome diet, pure air and water, plenty of sunlight, frequent baths, sufficient sleep, and a general attendance to the laws of physical well-being. This is the scientific conscience in its primitive phase. It has begun rightly, in the same order, and after the same method that all development takes place throughout the universe; and the individual who obeys it, will be sure that his study is well ventilated, there will be a microscope on his table, and between meals, he occasionally turns over the leaves of a book, entitled "Eating for Strength." He has made a safe and sure beginning; for pure blood, steady nerve, and developed muscle, are the best guaranty for healthy moral action, and a balanced mentality.

But if he is to be a thoroughly humanized individual, his science will not stop there, but will pass on to the second grade of advancement, and dominate his æsthetic tastes.

He now criticises and adores the Beautiful, and is led to the patronage and reform of Art. He finds room on his study table for statuette, picture and poem, without ever displacing the microscope or cook-book. It is evident he is in the grand barbaric period. And yet the scientific conscience will not step here, but passes on and possesses itself of the whole psychological field, and defines every social relation.

Does any one imagine that the possessor of this matured conscience will wish to trifle with the human heart, its love, its faith, its trust? Will he dare to deceive it? No! for he perceives that this wonderful realm of interior life

and relation, when vital and unbroken, is as wholly under the sway of an inexorable order as are the planetary worlds above him; and he finds as strict a necessity for method and genuineness in his conduct as lover, husband and parent, as there is in planning a cathedral, or carving a statue.

He now perceives that prayer is to the inward nature what daily ablution is to the body; a purifier and invigorator of life and action; and that religious precepts are the laws of moral science, clothed in the language of the heart.

And so along side the microscope, and at the feet of the little statuette, he now lays a bible of the ages, and a book of prayer and praise. The trinity within, being definite and complete, seeks permanent expression in that dearest spot on earth, the home.

He now comprehends his true relation to the Past of which he is a product; to its out-grown methods and institutions; and he reveres them as he does the parent who reared him.

More and more he perceives his indebtedness to the dead, and believes that to the persistent endeavors of the multitude who sleep, he may attribute largely the advantages of the present. And if tempted to sin, there lies in the clear depths of his conscience the ever present fact, that if he yields, he wrongs not one matchless spirit only, but all the hero toilers who through long endeavor made this spirit the possible companion of men. Toilers that slowly builded a stair-way of positive knowledge, which sloped from brute darkness to a height where morality dawned, and brave but rugged human nature took on ideal truth, and became invested with the majesty of the religious sentiment.

His ideas of education and culture become reconstructed by the ripened conscience. He instructs his children that it is laudable to aspire first of all to worthy citizenship; to fit one's self to be of service to his fellows. That we are but parts of one great body, and that an enlightened self-interest seeks to serve and perfect this body, looking away from self for the motives of action. He teaches them that property, in the high and humanized sense, does not belong exclusively to persons, but is a responsibility with which individuals are invested, to be used in advancing the well-being of society and the race. He tells them that to enter into sympathy with this larger life, to identify one's self with it, is to evoke all that is highest and most efficient in personal character; for he who would be greatest among men will be their servant. He bids them labor and wait, serene as Nature in whose order they serve.

If this then is what the scientific conscience will do for the individual, it is not difficult to estimate its results, when it shall permeate the entire

atmosphere of civilization. Its primary period is already inaugurated. Hygienic measures command public as well as private attention, and largely control the social organism. But it will not stop here. The slow stride of a few centuries will bring it into æsthetics and accomplish a reform in Art. Then a hearty farewell to sham, shoddy, and sensationalism! All hail, genuineness, and Nature idealized.

And yet this conscience must go on to its perfect result.

The creeping ages shall lead it into identity with the highest phase of the emotional nature, the religious sentiment.

Then will all exquisite influences of the ideal nature rest upon intellectual sanction, for head and heart shall be united. Then shall social obligation so broaden as to include the race, and an era of universal unity be inaugurated among men. These results are inevitable. They lie in the continuity of things. Let the human heart no longer weaken itself with vain imaginings, but with hope based upon positive data of the past and present, look forward with serenity to that fullness of time, when Humanity shall stand forth from its labors, perfected in service, one with the great poem it has wrought out of Nature, the ripened genius of a ripened world.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ART.

I desired to open this lecture with a proper definition of Art. Yet I have not been able to formulate such a definition, neither has any author that I have yet read upon the subject, furnished me with one which to my mind is sufficiently comprehensive. Perhaps the best I have chanced upon is this "Art is the highest sagacity of Human Nature." In its full significance, Art covers the entire evolution of civilization. It is the result of that mental capability in man, whereby he compels the universe to serve his material and ideal needs. And as Human Nature comprises two grand divisions—the physical and mental—so Art complies with a double order in filling the bill of man's necessities.

It follows therefore that all its departments and variations may be classed under two general heads—the industrial and ideal.

Industrial Art includes not only those phases of labor and production, that supply the material wants of the individual and the race, but also those mechanical inventions which lighten toil, perfect results, and have for the most part formed the progressive impulse of civilization. Ideal Art includes the ornamental and intellectual, and is quite beyond the sphere of our material desires and necessities. To designate one of these classes as useful to the exclusion of the other, is clearly an invidious distinction; since whatever proves beneficial to man, either in the way of increasing his comfort and enjoyment, advancing his culture or enlarging his resources of power, we may properly denominate useful. And this must necessarily include both the Industrial and Ideal phases of Art.

We find it exceedingly difficult from our present standpoint of progress, to realize in thought man's primitive condition. The grandest sweep of the imagination will not enable the mind to take in at one view the constructive processes of Nature in the earth's evolution. Processes that seem incalculable in time and detail, dating from the fire-mist, and coming up by immeasurable degrees of atom, accretion, deposit, and strata, to the live, surging world we now inhabit. But it is hardly less difficult to transport our thought to the social infancy of the race, and realize the wonderful gradations of Industrial Art, by which we have arrived at our present social status, advancing by measureless steps of toil, discovery, and invention, out of savagery through

the stone age, the bronze age, the iron age, the press age, to our present era of steam and electricity.

And we find the imagination incapable of conceiving even the long procedure by which man arrived at that low period of industrial culture when he ploughed the ground with a crooked stick. But it is reasonable to suppose that for ages previous to this advance, man had discovered his capability of an enjoyment outside the measure of his physical needs. He had doubtless become conscious of an inward, an awakening response to the beauty of sea and sky. The summer sunrise lifted and freshened his heart as well as his eyelids. Under the mystery of the stars, a hush fell upon his spirit. Crude and incomprehensible his emotions must have been, but the universe had draped his infantile state with its own ideal surroundings and grand baby that he was, he crept blindly, but instinctively toward the Beautiful. Thus side by side with man's material wants, there grew in his nature desires and enjoyments of another order, which have in time increased to so great magnitude, that to some of us the value of existence, if not life itself depends upon their satisfaction.

It is likely that Ideal Art found its first expression in the simplest phase of ornamentation. Whether it was Eve with a rose in her hair, or the savage tricking himself with shell and feather, it serves our purpose equally well, as marking the inception of Ideal Art. This first happy impulse of personal adornment, increasing by habit and hereditary descent, has developed with not a few of us into a personal appropriation of the Beautiful which satisfies not merely a desire, but a necessity. We starve the kitchen, that we may feed the parlor. The back room is cheerless, but we have a fountain and evergreens in front. We cater to a sham principle in the construction of our houses, but bay windows, graceful porches, and Massard roofs are indispensable. In short we aim at satisfying within us the stronger desire, the larger necessity. We perceive then that the Beautiful becomes as important a factor in the product of our enjoyment, as the satisfaction of our bodily wants. If then the sum and quality of human happiness is so largely affected by the Beautiful or Ideal, it behooves us to broaden and revise our definition of utility.

Edmund About, in a little work on Social Economy, in a chapter on production discourses rationally on this point. He says: "When Madame Patti goes and sings in a financier's drawing room for two thousand francs, she produces on opening her mouth, a rapid and fleeting utility, but which is none the less valued by the master of the house, who can reckon. The young and

brilliant songstress really produces in three quarters of an hour the equivalent of forty tons of cast metal at fifty francs the thousand kilos. The financier who pays this price for some vibrations of air, is not unaware that he could get more work out of forty thousand kilos of cast metal. If he prefers an article which will be consumed as soon as produced, it is because he counts on getting a special form of utility from it. The pleasure of his guests, a reputation for good taste and splendor, four lines in the newspapers. These advantages which a gardener at Croissy would not barter for a basket of carrots, are worth two thousand francs in the financier's opinion." We observe in this quotation that Edmund About or the financier find it quite as desirable and advantageous to supply his guests with ideal enjoyment, as to furnish them a delicious repast.

The young man is notorious who declared he could do without victuals and clothes and drink, but he was really suffering for a Bosom Pin. Yet he only occupied an absurd point in that ascending scale of culture, that makes the master artist possible. Yet there seems an immeasurable distance between this ridiculous youth, and the impassioned nature that gravitates to the Beautiful, whether in the universe of mind or matter, exists for it, and by the wondrous alchemy of genius, converts it, into concrete symbols of form, color, and sound. This dominance of the æsthetic faculty, Emerson describes in his little poem on Beauty.

"Beauty sought he everywhere,
In flame, in storm, in clouds of air;
He smote the lake to feed his eye
With the beryl beam of the broken wave;
He flung in pebbles, well to hear
The moments music that they gave.
Oft pealed for him a lofty tone
From nodding pole, and belting song.
He heard a voice none else could hear,
From centred and from errant sphere.
The quaking earth did quake in rhyme;
Seas ebbed and flowed in epi's chime,
In dens of passion, and pits of woe.
He saw strong Eros struggling through,
To sun the dark, and solve the curse,
And beam to the bounds of the universe.

While thus to love he gave his days,
In loyal worship, scorning praise.
How spread their lures for him in vain,
Thieving Ambition, and paltering Gain!
He thought it happier to be dead,
To die for Beauty, than live for bread."

But such demigods should recognize their poor relations. The idea conveyed in the poem, and the complaint of the young man aforesaid are identical:—namely, that as the soul advances in culture, it reaches an altitude where ideal and intellectual appetite is far more dominant and exacting than our ordinary physical demands.

To prove the evolution of Ideal Art in human history, little argument is necessary. The fact is uniquely expressed in obelisk, statue, and picture. But the student of this subject will observe, that each phase of art not only advances in itself to more perfect methods of portrayal, but that each phase also at its birth is a larger expression of the Ideal than that which preceded it. That is, Art, in its evolution deals more and more widely with the Ideal, and becomes more and more the symbol of pure feeling and emotion. Thus Architecture indicates but a narrow domain of sentiment; Sculpture broadens and sublimes the field, yet is largely confined to the higher and more heroic moods of being; Painting follows with capabilities that seize the whole realm of emotion on its material side, while Music,—the art product of modern civilization—succeeds in portraying all human feeling by air vibrations. Yet it is feeling, or emotion, abstracted from all incident.

When we sit in Boston Music Hall the lungs of the great organ compel all sentiment within us. We smile, we weep, we tremble. What has occurred? The organ has produced nothing but sound; yet sound so regulated as to evoke in the imagination the sentiment and association that affects us. Our mood also has been induced without the intervention of language. I will illustrate. If we walk through a gallery of statues, we confront a paradise of forms and feel uplifted in spirit by a sense of the Beautiful as when we stand in the dim rich gloom of a forest. But emotion is not awakened until we study the work. A printed catalcgue acquaints us with the incident or idea embodied in each statue; or perhaps the theme is carved in letters at the base; as

"The Forced Prayer"—"Genius in the Grasp of Poverty"—"Morning"—"Ruth the Gleaner"—"Vanity"—"Cleopatra," etc.

Here is the intervention of language to induce reflection and awaken feeling. The intellect is first aroused to definite ideas before real emotion is experienced. Again in that wonderfully impressive picture at the **Centennial Exhibition—Rizpah protecting the Bodies of her Sons from the Birds of Prey,**—feeling awakens with the first glance at the definite and terrible scene upon the canvas. We need no catalogue to stimulate appreciation. It matters not to us who the desperate undaunted woman is. We perceive that the artist has portrayed an **incident** in which undying human love protects its own from the savagery of Nature. In this instance our appreciation does not depend upon language but upon incident. Yet Music is capable of awakening all moods without the aid of these auxiliaries. If incident enters into the mental experience at such a time, it is formed by the association of ideas, and is the effect, not the cause of our mood.

The first hint that it was possible for Ideal Art to awaken emotion independent of language or incident was in the development of Architecture—those wonderful temples that find their interpretation in the religious sentiment. These marvellous structures have been appropriately styled "frozen music;" yet they symbolise but one phase of Man's emotional nature, while Music unlocks all departments of human sentiment and holds glorious possession.

And so it seems that the power of an Art, is the measure of its suggestiveness, and that phase which makes the strongest and most direct appeal to the imagination, that leads man to find in himself, the interpretation of the art that enchants him, this is the higher development, the finer type. Thus through all the epochs of civilization, the art principle seems toiling at the riddle of the sphinx, while each succeeding phase aids on the solution.

Now if we have discovered in this analysis, a law that determines art-development—that is—a tendency to pass from the special limitation of fact or incident into a realm of pure feeling and sentiment, it is not irrational to suppose that a **Color-Art** may, some day obtain as a medium of ideal expression. Indeed there is an interesting hint already in this direction. The Chicago Alliance says:

"There is a curiosity of literature in England called **The World's Book,** so named because after the title-page it contains not a single word. It is a religious allegory constructed, it is said, by an evangelical enthusiast. The idea is expressed in the symbolical color of its leaves. Two of these are black, two rose-red, two pure white, two gold. The black are symbolical of the unregenerate heart of man; the red symbolize the atonement; the white, the purity of the soul washed in the blood of the Lamb; the gold, the radiant joys

of eternal felicity." I think it is Hammerton—the English writer and artist—who alludes to the probabilities of a Color-Art, and the growing belief in the correspondencies existing between material and spiritual things, really seem pointing in this direction.

In the investigation of our theme, it becomes important, to ascertain the conditions of high art, and as history repeats the individual, we may expect to find in the experience and mental temperament of the individual artist, the conditions which evolve national art, when applied to a people. In studying the lives of the great artists, we find them to be men of intense feeling, fine emotion, profound convictions. A deep faith lies somewhere in their natures, around which the ideal life instinctively organizes itself. I do not infer that this faith is necessarily theological, even though it may have proven so historically in the past; but it is essentially religious—some sort of an anchor that the soul reveres, or it would not cling to its moorings sufficiently to construct around it the element of beauty. Some grand hope also fills these natures with unabated zeal, and dominating and fusing all is the love of the Beautiful. These wonderful souls are no simple compound. Genius is the product of sublime, yet terrible factors. Arduous toil and crucial experiences are along its way. Such is the path that engenders power. If ever a great artist has been or shall be found with life of even and easy tenor, we may yet be certain that complex and exceptional histories were in his line of ancestry; that a fiery drop of agony hurried the pulses of his progenitors; that the tragedy of previous generations has sublimed his blood, deepened the convolutions of his brain, and evolved the emotional nature and susceptibility that constitutes the artist. Indeed some appreciation of the infinitude of forces that enter the composition of these rare natures, seems always to have existed in greater or less degree among the mass of mankind. It is related of a Spanish king, that at one time while in the companionship of his nobles, an artist being present laid his hand upon the king's shoulder. The nobles kindled with anger at the seeming familiarity; but the King silenced them, saying, "With a flourish of my pen I can create a thousand nobles, but God Almighty alone can make an artist."

Again, in analyzing the master-artist, we find him loyal to his standard of right. He perceives the Beautiful through the lens of his integrity. If this is dimmed all his powers are somewhat vitiated. To create nobly, we must be at one with our highest nature. The soul must be at home with itself; fearless to confront itself in all lights, before it can rise to its full measure of conception. Emerson says. "All high art is moral." Yet assuredly there can

be no morality in art, that is not first in the artist. Yet with all these high attributes of faith, hope and morality,—this enthusiasm and exquisite sensibility, it will all go for naught as far as human welfare is concerned, it will lie imprisoned like the pearl in the brain of an oyster, if the artist have not a material basis as the auxiliary of his ideal thought, and the disposition also to employ it. That is, the world will neither be wiser nor happier for his glorious dream, if it places no tools in his hands where with to realize it. Virgil said, "I sing arms and a hero?" Carlyle revised the sentiment when he affirmed that the true epic of the world is "tools and the man." I think it is Emerson who relates of Michael Angelo that he must needs paint the Sistine Chapel in fresco. Yet he knew nothing of the art. But he went into the Pope's garden, dug out the red and yellow ochre, mixed his paints with water and glue, and after tedious trial and experiment, succeeded in satisfying himself—Undaunted persistence and necessarily something of audacity is in the temper of high and efficient genius.

Lanzi, in his History of Painting, also states that Angelo was unaided in this work "for," says the Historian, "such was the delicacy of his taste that no artist could please him, and as in sculpture every piercer, file, and chisel which he used was the work of his own hands, so in painting he prepared his own colors and did not commit the mixing and other necessary manipulations to boys."

So this most exquisite product of human culture—the artist—can never reimburse civilization for what it has made of him if he has not the industrial means with which to realize his vision of beauty. And so as the law of growth is with nations as with individuals, so in the normal development of a people material prosperity must precede the advent of Art. And pursueing the analogy yet further, there will be for such a people a time of struggle with external disadvantage, that will develop unity of purpose, or integrity each with each; a time of national suffering and calamity, in which faith will take deeper rootage; a time of victory generating hope and enthusiasm, and a kindling of the imagination and a refining of sentiment and feeling, that renders ideal expression a necessity. Then if Wealth be present, Art will be born.

But an Art Era will not only develop esthetic natures but worthy themes. Some grand idea essential to the welfare of mankind, must lie in the brain of an age that moulds an artist; and at its heart some vital love must centre before the great thought will culminate in Art. For love is the only creative impulse. The century may dream fine dreams, but only a vivifying love will render it chivalrous to realize them.

But without due examination it may appear that the conditions which I have stated as necessary to ideal growth, is not the philosophy of Greek Art. That some of these higher characteristics had never entered into the life of the people. That they were a versatile, sensuous, eloquent, game-loving race, but had neither profound faith, nor high integrity. But let us not forget that integrity is loyalty to one's highest conception of virtue; and the moral ideal of Greece was quite unlike that which has obtained in modern civilization. With the Greeks courage and patriotism were the highest virtues, and to this standard they were never disloyal. Hittell in his History of Culture informs us that in Athens, the school of Greece and of the world "the most eminent of their philosophers, poets, and orators, fought as common soldiers when occasion required. Pericles in his address to the Athenians remarks: "We trust less to our maneuvers and quackery, than to our native bravery, for warlike efficiency." He affirmed that the Athenians with their "easy and cultured habits, were not less prepared than the Spartans to encounter all perils within the measure of their strength." This people then, who still remain unequalled in esthetic culture, were eminently loyal to their own conception of virtue, and this is national integrity.

It will be urged against what I have stated as the spiritual condition of high art, that the physical and material side of life were emphasized during the art period of Greece as never before, and that it was the accompaniment of that nation's esthetic enthusiasm; yet I aver that it was not a one-sided erratic development, but a necessary and healthy balance of the intellectual and ideal culture of the time. And it is evident that a people who will press the material side of life into the service of the Beautiful, is not without moral protection.

And if a people can hold this side of Human Nature in proximity to the ideal life, deeming them worthy of being elevated into the domain of Art, there is yet hope for the race. For naught becomes an art, that does not first obtain as a science; and science is ever a revelation of uses. What the Greek civilization—with a moral philosophy wholly disconnected with religious worship and which therefore failed to reach the minds of only the cultured few—what this civilization would have proven without that esthetic enthusiasm which permeated and refined the masses by placing before the common life, the grandest works of art, it is difficult to conjecture; but we may rationally infer that the lower sentiments were brought into nearer relationship with temperance and virtue by the sublime and refining sense of the Beautiful. And if, as philosophic historians affirm, the moral and intellectual culture of a Nation, are reflected in its art and literature, we may readily infer the spheric development of

Hellenic civilization. For the perfectness of antique Art was in its sufficiency—in a completeness that not only satisfied the sense with Beauty but fed with deep import the demands of the soul. It was not—using Goethe's technicalities—simply nature, nor mannerism, nor even both combined. Nor was it Beauty emptied of significance, nor character unclothed with Beauty. Such method would have truly indicated an unbalanced culture in the age. But the equipoise of ancient Art, its perfect and impartial appeal to sense and spirit, could scarcely have been the index of an erratic civilization.

And when this equipoise—which is the ultimate of ideal expression—is broken, the decline of Art begins. No matter which of the two elements is subjugated, that which feeds the sense or that which feeds the soul, the method of Nature is abrogated, the perfectness of ideal expression wanes, until some exceptional spirit drawn back by an irresistable sympathy, to the fact of the ancient masters, restores the olden method, and recovers the lost glory.

Yet we are not prepared to judge correctly concerning any matter with which we are not somewhat in sympathy; and to properly understand this beauty loving people, we should have something of the flexible Greek within us. And the question remains:—where shall we find in the Hellenic genius that central faith around which, I have said, the ideal nature instinctively organizes. Taine in his **Philosophy of Greek Art** fails to instruct us on this point; yet, because of this omission, it does not necessarily follow that the spiritual element was wanting in Greek character; for his philosophy is almost wholly elaborated from a consideration of the influence of natural environment, together with the moulding tendencies of social and political life on the development of classic art. He gives no credit whatever to the analytic power of the Greek mind,—of which form in the national art must have been the most perfect outcome. So we are not surprised that he gives no hint of the spiritual centre of the ancient art-life. Still, with our modern conceptions of religion and ethics, we find it exceedingly difficult to believe that a solemn faith lay deep in the hearts of the vivacious game-loving Greeks. But the Eleusinian Mysteries come to our aid.

The festival of the Eleusinia originated in Eleusis, a town in Attica; but after the town had been conquered by the Athenians, the festival became common to both cities, and was attended by people from all portions of Greece. The mysteries of Eleusinia were in honor of Demeter,—the embodiment of human sorrow—and Dionysius—the incarnation of human hope. This festival occurred every fifth year, continuing nine days, and although attended by multitudes from all Greece, we may presume it to have been peculiarly Athenian. It was ob-

served, for more than two thousand years, or nearly sixty generations, and as a writer in the Atlantic Monthly of 1860 informs us must have meant far more than an illustration of the Platonic Philosophy. "They presented," says this writer, "throughout the whole history of Greece a well-defined system of faith; that essentially they even served the function of a church, by their inherent idea of divine discipline and purification." In his sympathetic study of this theme this writer also remarks. "The Greeks gave a profoundly spiritual meaning to the festivals of Demeter and Dionysius, the two great presences of the Universe. Demeter gave them bread, but they never forgot that she gave them the bread of life. 'She gave us,' says the ancient Isocrates, "two gifts that are the most excellent. Fruits that we might not live like beasts, and that initiation, those who have part in which, have sweeter hope, both as regards the close of life, and for all eternity.' "

In short, the Festival of Eleusinia—which seemed to include in its symbolism the sum of human experiences, proves conclusively that Pelasgian civilization had advanced into and through those profound phases of sorrow, hope and faith that evolve and perfect the esthetic nature of Man; and I think we may justly predicate that an essentially materialistic or irreligious people will never abandon themselves to the grand hope and enthusiasm that is the necessary precedent of Art. In my judgment therefore, Greece fulfilled and illustrated all that I have traced as laws of ideal development.

In pursuing our subject the question naturally arises—is esthetic culture desirable? Does the ability to perceive and express the Beautiful, increase the enjoyment of an individual or a people? There can be no hesitation in the answer. It is the development of a faculty that the Universe is swift to serve. The heart may hunger for righteousness, the intellect may starve for books, but the love of the Beautiful, once awakened, discovers a path of perpetual satisfaction. The demand, the supply, and the enjoyment, are alike infinite. The artist holds the keys of a kingdom, which no enemy can invade, no misfortune overwhelm. He is the universal heir. All Nature is his own, and though men reject him, he yet walks in noblest companionship. Though he wear the garment of poverty, and break the crust of the poor; yet is he conscious of kingship. He is never quite lonely or desolate. His brain is a Parthenon where the divinities of feeling and imagination hold festival. The devils of ennui and envy are not at home there. And if I affirm what is strictly true, that the ideal nature deals only with the real, you will suspect me of paradox; but if I affirm what is essentially the same—that an esthetic individual desires to affiliate only with what is genuine, the statement is clear and simple.

For such natures not only discover the Beautiful, but they are the master detectives of sham and shoddy everywhere:—in manners, in conversation, in ethics.

Again, the evidence of the moral relationship of the Beautiful is unquestionable. History informs us that all the higher phases of Art had their genesis in Religion; and if in the differentiation which constitutes progress, the arts have become more and more secularised, it is not that they have suffered demoralization, but that our recognition of the Human is forever becoming more exalted; until nothing but the infinite and immeasurable beauty of all Art can fitly suggest its potentialities. I say infinite and immeasurable. For who has taken the dimensions of the Beautiful, or measured the height or depth of its charm. The glory of a Sunset, the loveliness of a rose, the mellow tints of mountain scenery, the winning grace of a sweet and noble spirit, elude all scientific calculation. Goodness may be estimated, truth may be demonstrated, but the Beautiful, is the ever changing garment of an Infinite Mystery.

Individual experience, corroborates historic evidence in relation to the exalting tendency of the esthetic faculty upon character. Many of us can remember the day and the hour when a new and larger sense of the sweet mystery and grandeur of existence, came into our child lives. Perhaps it floated down from the sunset, or it dropt from the glimmering stars, or a foamy brook gurgled it, or a wild bird sprinkled it through the twilight in cadences of indescribable song; or better still, a higher type of humanity crossed our little stinted pathway, awakening an aspiration within us, that ever after reminded us of nobler and more perfect endeavor.

"Art," says Hammerton, "draws us continually toward a state of mind akin to the devotional." But is is important to observe that a perception and love of the Beautiful, precedes in the child, the perception and love of Right. The nursing babe will wail for a flaunt of color, or a tinsel toy, and I am acquainted with children in whom the moral sense is quite dull or inactive, yet they are so emphasized esthetically, that they do what is just and amiable, not from an appreciation of what is morally right, but from a desire to do and be that which is beautiful. The refinement of nature thus induced, is quickly observable. Such children shrink from vulgar and profane persons, though they may never have been told that such individuals were bad or wicked. Their roughness and coarseness is uncongenial, and shock the child's sense of the fitting and the appropriate. These children are indignant and grieved at a lie. They never found one at home, or in Nature. Thus we perceive that desirable and worthy habit may find basis in the esthetic principle, proving a close and normal relation between the ideal and moral nature. Indeed these departments

of the mind open on each other, and whichever may be dominant, there is more or less of interaction and exchange. Each necessarily awakens and invigorates the other. It is illogical to think otherwise. T. W. Higginson corroborates my argument on this point. He somewhere writes: "The imagination, next to love, is the most purifying influence of a child's life. In proportion as the little creature absorbs itself in an ideal world, it has a mental preoccupation, driving far off each thing of sin and guilt. Indolence or selfish reverie, may come in, doubtless, but not coarseness. In a strongly imaginative childish nature even if evil seems to enter, it leaves little trace behind, and the soul insensibly clears itself once more. The foundations of virtue are laid in the imagination, before conscience and reason have gained strength."

"Whatever refines any portion of Man's nature," said a New York artist with whom I was conversing, "refines the moral perception." If this be true—and we see no reason to doubt it—there can be little question of the desirability of art-culture in our homes and in society, nor can there be aught enervating to a people in the development of Art. The causes of Hellenic decline are not to be found in the literary, philosophic, or esthetic tendencies of Greek characters, but rather in the slow effacement of those conditions which I have stated as the philosophy of Art. The old heroic ideals faded out, or were no longer a reality in thought or life. The principles around which each sublime myth had clustered were no longer vital. There were dead, not living myths. New ideals practically took their place, and they were not such as to renew or replenish the springs of esthetic power. The period of art in the history of a people indicates a nation's fruition, not its decay. It is possible that the student of history will come to discover that the philosophy of a nation's decline, will be found in its general poverty, not its wealth, its general ignorance, not its erudition, its general vulgarism and not its culture.

It is likely that the artistic spirit can never attain its deserved possibilities in a civilization founded upon caste. The two principles being diametrically opposite—the one meaning freedom and the other servility—the stronger will gradually obliterate the weaker. And although we are informed that recent letters from India have proven that architecture can no longer be considered an art exclusively Grecian or Christian; that the Peacock Throne, in a palace in India, is a work that surpasses St. Peter's and the Acropolis in its exquisite finish, yet in the language of Professor Swing, "it is the finish of a jewel more than the sublimity of ocean or mountain." Something, it seems, is necessarily sacrificed in the character of an artist's conception, if the invigorating element of freedom in the atmosphere of civilization is not strong, to sustain his in-

spiration. For this atmosphere directs and moulds, limits or expands the expression of his dream. The golden age of painting, which seems on brief reflection to controvert this statement, is really its illustration. For although superstitution and political tyranny were yet strong enough to dictate the artist in his choice of subjects, it was too weak to restrict his treatment thereof, and the principle of freedom, or what we may term the European Rationalistic movement, the intellectual awakening which ultimately led to Protestantism in religion, to inquiry and philosophy in literature, to agitation and revolution in politics—first announced its existence in the efflorescence of art; and Angelo was at liberty to give Minos, in his picture of "The Last Judgment," the features of a certain master of ceremonies; to make his fresco a study of nude figures, and to complete that secularization of art, by which the theological element became subordinated or eliminated, and "beauty reigned alone." So we may be certain that Liberty is fairly abroad with its progressive and equalizing tendencies, whenever art is at its best.

Yet as artists in their association one with another, are oblivious of class or rank, each recognizing in each the peerage of creative thought, so nations are indifferent of rank when they convene in the name of art. For the ideal, as well as the religious principle in man, is an altitude of human nature quite removed from the external standards of worldly distinction. Our Centennial Exhibition illustrated this beautiful truth. Such baptism of fraternity never before came to this nation as that which sublimed its centennial birth-day; and ever since, that kingly word "Patriotism" lies broadening in American thought until it is no longer

> "A patriotism cheap, that stops with one's own nation,
> But patriotism grand that spheres a world's salvation."

The power and virtue of the gospel of Beauty should need no advocate hereafter in this country, but the wiser aspirations of our people should be its vindication.

The great error in modern education is fundamental, and demands radical treatment. We must go back to the primary sources of culture for the remedy; to the parent and teacher, the fireside and the schoolroom. Here the child can be taught to perceive the beautiful, the tasteful, and the appropriate, in a manner wholly natural and untechnical; and it is astonishing how quickly, under proper guidance, children become responsive on these points; how their attention will be arrested even in boisterous play, by some bright arrangement of cloud, how in a ride or walk they are certain to observe the picturesque, the

openings in a forest, the glimpse of blue water beyond, or the winning majesty of the mountains. It is important that some method should be devised in connection with our public schools that would serve as the necessary prelude to art study, educating the eye, and training the æsthetic judgment of the pupil. Art objects, quite inexpensive, should be placed in our school-rooms, and in many communities contributions might be raised for that purpose. Teachers should be expected to interest themselves in this department of culture, to point out the faults and excellencies of these art-objects, and talk with their pupils occasionally about the especial characteristics of the great masters.

It is not without apprehension that I take up briefly the final portion of my discourse, Woman's Relation to the Fine Arts. But as I am not a partisan of sex, as I love the welfare of the race better than I love man or woman, so do I study this theme and all others mainly to assertain our distinct uses in advancing the common welfare of humanity. And as woman is the genius that presides at the primal sources of civilization, her relation to Art conditions is fundamental. The sacred fire upon the home hearth is the central heat from which radiates all the vitality that makes and moulds human life and society. Here, consciously or unconsciously, intelligently or unintelligently, woman holds in relation to civilization the keys of heaven and hell. Whatsoever she binds here shall be bound among men, and whatsoever she looses here shall be loosed among men. Here originate those vitally refining tendencies which passing into the life of the time and mixing with the proper compound of human experience, eventuates in Ideal Art. It is my profound conviction, therefore, that Woman is the inspirer and not the creator of Art. At her best and truest she is the beautiful which man perceives more and more clearly and adores more profoundly as he rises in the scale of culture. A nobler sentiment than personal ease has stimulated man in his toiling ascent up through the epochs of savagery and barbarism and still onward through the broadening phases of enlightenment. Ever by his side has walked an incarnate appeal to his noblest endeavor and woman's appreciation has been the dearest guerdon of his toil. To win, and hold, and satisfy her nature, man has transformed the earth from a globe of terror to a sphere of beauty. Just so deeply as he folded the thought of her into his heart, so deeply did he give impulse to civilization. It is not more certain that the morality and immorality of this universe enters through vital processes into human structure and dominates the human organism than that woman's personality in man's activities enters into and dominates civilization.

Through the unavoidable influence upon man's emotional nature, she determines for good or ill the mental and moral atmosphere of a community and a

people. It is impossible for woman to avoid this responsibility. The spiritual tendencies of the race lie in the quality of her influence upon man's ideal or emotional life. Apart from the world of force she yet directs what is executed therein. But as this is the era in which she has become conscious of her relation to human destiny, she may no longer leave at man's door the responsibility of human evil; since he can never rise higher in the quality of his efforts than the source that moulds and inspires him. Do I overstate the matter? Think for yourselves! When gold was first discovered in California, the treasure seekers who journeyed thither came back with the same story, woman's refining and inspiring influence was not there, and the best and worthiest became demoralized by her absence. Those who had left cultured homes, fell easily and quickly into coarse and untidy habits, neglecting and forgetting the moral and cleanly methods of life, the hygiene of soul and body. But with woman's appearance, real civilization commenced. Man's enthusiasm arose, his heart was in his toil, his gold was moralized; homes began, society organized. Yet it may be urged against my argument that there are portions of the globe where woman has dwelt with man from time immemorial, and yet society is in a low grade of advancement, not having arisen above the most ordinary phases of industrial culture. But you will observe that there is a correspondence between the degree of civilization which obtains with a people and their estimate of woman. Is the wife and mother truly recognized as woman, or as an important domestic animal? Just in proportion as she is appreciated as woman, will man's inspiration and enthusiasm arise, refinement increase, and the forces of progress move onward. But in proportion as she is accepted as an important domestic animal, will society continue inactive, enterprise sleep, and the true sources of refinement remain unknown. Indeed the history of human progress is a history of woman's relation to man's appreciation—the philosophy of her transformation from the domestic animal to the home angel. That she is the deepest inspiration of man's æsthetical and emotional life, there can be little doubt. This seems to be universally felt, if not admitted. It is said that there is a certain heart experience that so awakens the divinity of a man's nature that he becomes a poet, indeed, the veriest.

Some quotations from Professor Swing on Woman's relation to the modern novel are at this point appropriate. He says, "Literature is nothing else than thought ornamented. Where then is the element of beauty, that makes the novel a part of literature and of art? Go back with me if you choose two thousand years, and you will see upon the walls of every old temple, of every palace, of every dwelling house, a certain form, or figure, and the likeness is—woman.

The Greek called this image Andromeda or Helen. Along came the Latins and called it Minerva or Zenobia. Along came the Italians and called it Beatrice. The Bible built a beautiful garden around it, and called it Eve. But call this creature who you may, this is the Atlas upon whose shoulders the world of the novel turns and passes through the vicissitude of day and night, summer and winter. This is the element of beauty, that entered into that part of literature and for the most part acts as the adorning element, the decoration of thought." You will readily perceive that what Professor Swing is pleased to designate as the "adorning element" in literature is equally applicable to the fine arts; and we may only affirm that woman is not only the inspiration but the genuine model of much that is most beautiful in art. History notes one woman so marvellous in grace and loveliness that the most cultured people on the globe not only forgave her all things for love of her beauty, but her form gave rise to some of the most celebrated works of Art—the Venus of Apelles and the Venus of Praxiteles, and we remember also in this connection, that the genius of Phidias, the most famous sculptor of Greece, arose to an inspiration that could release itself from all precedent, at that period in the life of the nation, when a woman was the inspiration of Athen's noblest orator and statesman. It was the culmination of Athenian glory; the susceptible genius of Phidias caught the marvellous impulse, and the marble passed from the perfect expression of human passion and emotion to the serenity and majesty of a God.

I have stated that woman is the inspirer, not the Creator of Ideal Art. In affirming this I do not forget Miss Hosmer, Vinnie Reams, Rosa Bonheur, and others who are entering the world of Ideal Art. But they walk this realm with the step of the pupil—not of the master. May there be many more such to follow man into this Heaven of imagination for the students devotion is the teacher's inspiration. In my lecture upon the Philosophy of Woman's Era I stated my conclusion in reference to Woman's relation to the art of Music. That she is not a creator in the genuine sense of the world in that phase of culture, but she is its highest interpreter and genuine exponent. Music without woman, were almost like sound without an ear. They exist each for each. Is woman then, less artistic in her nature than man? By no means. If she were not the soul of art she could not inspire it. Their relation on this point is that of doing and being. Man is the brain of art, woman the pulse; man constructs art; woman loves it.

But what of Poetry? In this phase of ideal expression is not woman to the "manner born?" Are not man and woman natural and equal sovereigns in this kingdom of beauty? You will observe that in my analysis of the Fine Arts, I

have not included Poetry. I have treated four special phases,—Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, and Music. I do not place Poetry in this category for the reason that I do not recognize it as a distinctive phase of Art, in the sense in which the others are so estimated, but it is all Art. Through the transcendent capabilities of language. Poetry is in itself the synthesis of the special phases we have been considering. It has no distinctive law of expression apart from these. It is the unity of Art,—the Art of Arts. For five hundred years the poetry of Homer satisfied and cultivated the Greeks till the analytic spirit crept somehow into the atmosphere of human thought, the sense of universal beauty, with in them differentiated into the special types of Art.

You will readily perceive that Poetry is all art, when you reflect that it may be musical, or statuesque, or word painting, as it may combine all these methods of expression in a single poem. It will delineate with or without color. Here is Tennyson's fragment "the Eagle." It is bold crayon. His "Dora" is statuesque. In Poe's "Bells," the law of music dominates. Then as poetry is in itself the synthesis of Art, it is rational to suppose that the genius peculiarly adapted to this form of ideal construction should be eminently synthetic. And this is what I believe woman to be in the quality of her genius. Therefore in the domain of literature, woman is far more than an ingenius pupil, or a skillful imitator—she is a genuine creator. I do not pretend to estimate the value of her creations. I do not fore-cast her possibilities of attainment in this field of expression, but I aver that she is herself, that she is original, that she is woman; and like man, creates from a spontaneous necessity.

Has man, then, in the domain of the fine Arts, a world in which he is Master and Creator and of which woman is but the inspiration and exponent? So I believe, but the Universe is impartial. It has given to woman also a world of Art in which she is queen and creator and in relation to which Man is the inspiration and exponent. And if ever he walks this realm with the air of a master, depend upon it, he is a usurper. In this kingdom—the home—woman elaborates her vital creations, of blood, and nerve, and brain, and man is the devoted scholar whose appreciation is the deepest inspiration of her work. This art-world can never reveal its possibilities of harmony and loveliness until woman perceives the potentialities of her genius in this direction, nor until man comprehends his proper relation to this realm which he serves and inspires but in no wise legitimately constructs. He must not only adore the artist-queen but he must revere her creative work and it should be his endeavor to remove whatever trifles with her genius as she toils at this transcendent art of life. (The true civilization will not only open to man the widest opportunities

for the elaboration of Art, but in this world within a world—the home—it will secure to woman the best and wisest conditions for the elaboration of the artist.) For her work antedates all education. Nature is not arbitrary and exclusive in these vital processes, but grants plenary power to the mother genius, investing her with a responsibility, both dread and glorious.

Ladies and gentlemen, I close my discourse with this interrogation. Can there be aught more just or satisfactory in all the methods of Nature, than this arrangement whereby the sexes become a mutual inspiration each to each, in his and her own sphere of uses, or can we set before us as American citizens a worthier purpose than to develop those industrial and spiritual conditions that shall ultimate in the purest art and the most perfect home?

THE RELATION OF THE MATERNAL FUNCTION TO THE WOMAN INTELLECT.

We are investigating the relative merits of the masculine and feminine intellect. Our primary motive in this investigation is not to establish a sense of superiority or inferiority in regard to the mental capabilities of either sex; but to ascertain in what departments of human character each may look to the other for a superior excellence, that shall evoke reverence and love on the part of both, and conduce to mutual protection, helpfulness, and the highest development of the race.

We will not forget in this investigation that both man and woman are necessary for the complete expression of human nature—that best positive manifestation of an inflowing life, which extends, according to the affirmations of faith, to the seraph above, and by the facts of science to the unnucleated pro-to-plasm of material existence. Yet to ascertain our differences, is to ascertain our uses. The ultimate destiny of all truth is utility.

A brief glance at the literary and scientific achievements of the past, will at once convince us of the superiority of man's intellectual efforts over woman's mental productions. To what shall we attribute this difference of results? This is our subject of research. Is it a primal difference of intellectual capacity, or is it a difference of opportunity, of education, and of physical function?

Parents and experienced teachers will tell us anywhere and everywhere, that the girls, as a rule, are in mental achievement two or three years in advance of the boys. But it is observed that, arriving in their teens, intellectual superiority begins to diminish, mental ambition declines, and the daughter of wonderful promise turns out to be nothing extraordinary after all. Instead of fulfilling the hopes and prophecies of wondering friends, she usually enters the marriage relation, which in its ordinary acceptance, not unfrequently signifies that she is well buried.

But when intellectual action begins to decrease in the girl, ambition and mental vigor become predominant in the boy. He applies himself and conquers. He goes forth into the affairs of human life, accepting the world as his heritage, and looking graciously and gallantly upon the fairer and

weaker sex, with what seems to him a just consciousness of power and sovereignty. To explain and sum up all the causes of this divergence would prove a herculean task; and we can only briefly present a few of the many which are present to our perception.

Candor and impartial observation discover that nature and social circumstance combine to win and force the young woman from intellectual pursuits. As a rule, the mother finds that her girl babies are far more susceptible of tenderness and sympathy, more easily touched by pity, their innocent affections more accessible than those of the baby boy. In short, from birth human love is more the girl's life and necessity. I cannot at this time investigate and announce the cause of this, even were I competent to do so. I only declare the existing fact.

Arriving at the period of womanhood, the new physical function of her being is attended with a corresponding change in her interior life. Her sleeping, but living affections arise from their childhood trance, and with the shy but rapturous wonderment of a new-created Eve, she passes into the paradise of romance. And there she finds a goddess at whose feet she sits in rapt devotion, whose smile or frown enters into her very life pulses; who looks in her adoring eyes and affirms that she has chosen that better part that shall not be taken from her. And to this affirmation, all the customs and conditions of society are an omnipotent amen. With all this reinforcement and approval on the side of her awakened love-nature, with social hindrance, self-crucifixion, and a life struggle on the other, it were little less than a miracle if she chose, in the interest of her intellect, to walk out of her paradise of sweets into a world of briers. No! She is Eve over again. She stays, determined to get a taste of the apple of knowledge even there. She eats, and walks out of her Eden of romance too late to recover her foregone intellectual opportunities, but with a knowledge of good and evil in her soul, that yields to the womanhood of this world the potentialities of gods:—a power of love and self-sacrifice that shall and must redeem mankind.

But however strongly at the age of puberty the nature of the young man may be attracted in the direction I have described, social circumstance and custom compel him to ignore it to a very great degree. For he knows it is only through resolute endeavor, and the successes of ambition, that he may hope to win the treasure of his love. He is the world-elected protector and provider. The more beautiful and perfect the nest he builds, the more rare the bird that he may win to it. This is the natural selection we talk about. He is ardent in collecting materials wherewith to build up

within himself an imposing manhood—a manhood of intellectual power and clearness. The halls of Church and State invite his entrance. He resolutely shuts his eyes to the bewildering halo that hovers about the border land of romance; or, if a few faint gleams are permitted to flow in upon his vision, they naturally become an inspiration of hope, a stimulus to ultimate achievement. Thus, that which the young man utilizes to an inspiration, is to the young woman, by the power of custom and the quality of her own affection, a quietus upon intellectual effort, or at least a hindrance to its finest results.

To prove that it is affectional life, or heart hunger, and not physical function which interferes with the young lady's intellectual progress, I ask you to show me a truly intellectual girl of ordinary health, who passes through her teens and on to advanced womanhood without becoming seriously involved in her affections, and you show me a woman who will knock at your college doors with a persistence that will not take nay for an answer; who will place in our art galleries the embodied expression of her thought; who will drop her mite with unshrinking hand into the treasury of science; and will choose and enter her profession, and snap her fingers at opponents. All this will she do despite physical function.

But it may be said that the influx of affectional life, which in the case of the girl is intellectual impediment, is the natural, and therefore necessary attendant of the function which proclaims womanhood. I think that may be so; but it is social sanction and the subordinate condition of woman that encourage it to a predominance, which renders it the absorbing and controlling principle of her nature. The hitherto languid elements of her character are called into active service in its interest. Even her literary food is such as to feed the poison drop that is changing her whole mental texture. Vanity and pretence are in constant requisition. Beauty of person (not as a blessing, but as a source of selfish power) becomes the great desideratum, and subjects her to all the absurdities and extravagances of fashion. The fundamental laws of health are ignored, and the intellectual swoon which was but partial through affectional intemperance, is completed through this long chain of errors—these sins of omission and commission.

It is truly a question of the correlation of forces. An overflowing heart-life. An intense fullness of the emotional nature sadly interferes with intellectual logic. Nor will it even allow the brain sufficient energy for artistic conception. Cleone writes to Aspasia, "I do not believe the best writers of love poetry ever loved. How could they write if they did? How could they collect the thoughts, the words, the courage? Alas! alas! men can find all

these." What a rich commentary is this on the affectional quality distinguishing the sexes! In the one sex, so absorbing and special is the attachment that the intellect, engulphed in the maelstrom of affection, finds no words in which to write its own sweet epithets. In the other it is the inspiration to new mental creations, and becomes an incentive to universal aims.

But does maternity diminish intellectual capacity? From my own experience I cannot admit it. On the contrary the seeming miracle of this experience is, that it empowers the intellect to command secrets and mysteries heretofore unapprehended. But the reason is simple. The heart for the first time yields an affection which demands nothing in return. The law of self sacrifice and gladsome duty predominates. The mind settles into divine order—by which I mean its natural, legitimate order. The intensely selfish and special attachments which formed its narrow world, enlarge their boundaries; and we taste of the universal life, which is eternal life. All this yields an intellectual capacity before unknown. But mark this! The fatiguing cares and anxious responsibilities which in our yet imperfect social condition are the almost inevitable attendant of motherhood, do indeed impair all intellectual results. Although the best articles I have ever written were composed with my babe in my arms, while it demanded constant attendance and amusement; yet who can guess how much more profound my argument might have been, and how much less imperfect in its expression, had I been relieved of the distracting cares and attentions which divided my thoughts and taxed my powers of mental concentration to an alarming degree. Thus this loss of intellectual vigor cannot justly be attributed to the maternal function, but to an imperfect social arrangement which burdens the mother with unremitting cares, and defrauds her of intellectual rights. And what is this undeniable fact, but a fresh plea and demand for a social system which shall guarantee the rights of intellect to defrauded womanhood. A social system involving methods of industrial co-operation as shall insure to woman that leisure and opportunity which her intellectual capacities demand. Talk of woman's intellectual incapacity or inferiority! The wonder is that she has had the courage and persistence to attempt and achieve the smallest results in the face of such dire discouragements. I have seen times when I was so pressed with maternal duties, yet with all so hungry intellectually, that to gain opportunity to read a volume, I rocked the cradle, sang, knit, and read simultaneously, thus forcing my body into an attitude impeding respiration, and exerting a concentration of thought and purpose, in order to carry on my different occupations, exceedingly deleterious to mental order and health.

It is impossible, therefore, to justly estimate the potentialities of the woman intellect, until an ever improving social condition shall relieve her of the depressing cares which have been the almost constant attendant of wifehood and motherhood, nor until opportunity and incentive for culture shall be as free and urgent for her as it has ever been for man.

If, indeed, physical function or maternity is the cause of woman's inferior intellectual achievements, why is it that with enlarged opportunity, and improving social condition, her intellectual successes are more frequent, brilliant, and permanent? And I apprehend that at present some of our female authors will not meanly compare with out male poets and novelists. In oratory and original address woman appears to be already winning the reward of superior excellence. What is the meaning of all this? Is man deteriorating in intellectual capability, or is woman progressing? Perhaps it may be both,—an illustration of the correlation of forces in the human unit.

But should an objector bring forward the statement that women of genius have averred that motherhood is a hindrance to intellectual power, I shall claim the statement as evidence of the validity of my argument. For why this piercing sense of hindrance? What but an enlarged force burning for expression? The surplus thought beats franticly against the towering walls of the new responsibility which girds it about. The brain is invigorated to a sense of its right of sovereignty when it is jealous of heart-hindrance. I would that this jealousy might continue until woman is led to discover the true cause of her inferior mental expression.

But it is said that among female authors and artists we have never had a Shakespeare, a Raphael, a Beethoven, or a Michael Angelo. But, gentlemen, you will never have them again. The colossal flora of the carboniferous period is not likely to return. The saurians, the mastodon, and the mammoth are extinct. Giant thoughts and conceptions of ancient days have followed the footsteps of these monsters. These are the days for scrutinizing a drop of water, for observing the nervous system of a plant, for studying the circulation of protoplasm in the sting of the nettle, for ascertaining the limits of human nature, for recognizing or ignoring our poor relations in all forms of life below us. Woman has only come into self-consciousness and self-effort in these microscopic days. She will not think hugely, awkwardly, terribly; she will think finely, delicately, exquisitely. Her words, like Mrs. Browning's, will be electric, holding both the lightning and the thunder; or, like Miss Ingelow's, white with the light of moon and stars; or, like Alice Carey's, filled with the freshness and sweetness of the June morning and the apple

blooms. For the material genius of nature, and the mental genius of humanity, are brethren that fall not out by the way.

It is argued that woman would not have held a subordinate position heretofore, had she not been inferior to man in her mental nature. Is this really sound logic? There is a cactus whose nature does not culminate in bloom till a hundred years are told. Another of equal longevity may have completed and repeated its autobiography again and again. It has taken all the ages of humanity for man's nature to bud into genuine magnanimity toward woman, and we wait for the perfect bloom. Then why is it not possible and highly probable that there are germs in woman's nature but just quickening into growth. We know that in the affairs of this world, circumstance and environment often subordinate and fetter genuine genius, genuine superiority, while as genuine inferiority will wriggle and bully its way to victory. So it does not appear that woman's subordinate position is valid evidence of her natural inferiority. The objector must seek a more substantial basis for his argument, or we may begin to doubt the soundness of his logic.

It is remarked, that after that period in a woman's life, when the maternal function ceases, she becomes more intellectual; and the argument adduced therefrom is, that this function has heretofore interfered with intellectual activity. I have stated what I believe to be the substance of this interference. That it is not physical but social. Experience and observation are the bases of my opinion, and it is woman only who can speak from positive knowledge on these matters. Reason and observation induce me to believe that a woman's intellect yields its finest products after the cessation of the maternal function. But this does not impair my argument, as there are several reasons for this result. And in this investigation we rely upon no "say so" of the past. Common sense and science in taking up an unsettled question, first annihilate all the gods of yesterday, and demand an open road for exporation.

The change of which we speak usually extends over a period of a few years before completion. During all this time the woman considers herself more or less a patient. She dispenses as far as possible with vexing cares, avoids unnatural excitements, chooses healthy enjoyments, journeys more or less, becomes cosmopolitan, takes time for reading, but is careful not to over-tax her thought, is temperate in all things, and indulges in a leisure and prudent activity heretofore unenjoyed. She resorts to all these sensible methods in order that she may pass the period safely. Little ones no longer fatigue her arms by day, or prevent her rest by night. She can reflect. In the pressing cares of the isolated home she had no opportunity to fairly

ascertain and decide whether she was good or evil. Her mother-love at this time is likely to have become purified from all taint of appropriation, by having yielded her children to the larger claims of society and humanity. Thus through the opportunities which this change brings to her, and the attendant experiences of advancing years, her affections become yet more spiritualized and intellectualized, her conjugal love is more Platonic in quality and her specialities approximate the universal. But if you will show me a woman whose duties during this period of change never lessen, who continues to take children into her care with all the responsibilities which attended the rearing of her own offspring, you show me one whose intellectual expression at least has not increased by the cessation of the physical function; though, doubtless, the conclusions of her judgment are more or less spiritualized. And all this occurs in relation to man, when from advancing years or physical causes the sexual function ceases, as is sometimes the case. The quality of his affections, and therefore his intellectual products, are spiritualized. But does it therefore follow that the function of manhood impairs the masculine intellect, or retards its progress? On the contrary, we observe with the dawn of manhood there comes to the boy the flush of genuine ambition and mental endeavor. We may therefore settle down upon one fact, alike applicable to both sexes, that with the cessation of the sexual function, the products of the intellect are modified in quality. Yet, because of this, I presume no modern man for the kingdom of heaven's sake would annihilate any of the functions of his physical nature, but would proclaim himself their king by a divine self-possession that changes them to willing servants.

And this leads me to an idea which I sometimes hear expressed, namely, that an ascetic life contributes to intellectual vigor. But there is one comment to be made in connection with this assertion, which we ought never to forget, and it is this: a man must be ascetic in thought as well as in external act, if he would secure intellectual reward. However reserved his outward life may be, if inwardly he revels in passional thought, his intellect appropriates no reserved force. Let men examine with keenest criticism and broadest candor their own experience upon this point, and they will find that new-time authority re-echoes the old:— "first make clean the inside of the cup and platter," and again "be ye therefore perfect." That is, the harmonious action of the whole being depends upon internal and external oneness.

How suggestive is all this of a coming fact of science, which Holcombe beautifully hints,—of a coming physiology which shall recognize the normal

correspondence of the internal and external life; thus reversing the mistaken order of our researches, seeking causes where we now seek effects, and proving that the sweetness and grandeur of the invisible conscious life is the antecedent of all that is genuinely sweet and pure in manner, or grand in external deed. And it is by no means difficult to detect the dissonance between the inner life and the outward expression whenever and wherever it exists. When some individuals are eager and long in their declarations of their own love of purity, we listen silently, yet without suspense of judgment. The tell-tale physiognomy cannot wholly conceal the inner life that gives the lie to their loud-mouthed professions. "Sham" shines so clearly through their foreheads, that even he who runneth may read.

But without reference to the relative superiority or inferiority of the masculine and feminine intellect, we cannot fail to discern a difference of quality which we recognize as distinctive of sex. Man comprehends, and woman apprehends. Man does not build as wisely as he knows. Woman builds larger than she understands. Man in his natural order, and in his highest development, is intellect spiritualized. Woman at her best and truest is love intellectualized. So evident is it to the universal consciousness that woman especially represents the spiritual and artistic in human nature, that our male poets and artists, together with the Jesus of history, are pictured with those lines of delicate expression which belong to woman. And if there be a grand feminine genius in the land, whose brain holds something of the leaven of logic, we may be sure that a study of her face will reveal a touch of masculine strength about the features, that yields a granite firmness to the sweet pictures of her fancy. Even when a female author would remain incognito behind a non de plume belonging to the opposite sex, yet the perceptive reader is likely to detect the woman quality throughout the entire production, as did Mrs. Browning in the case of George Sand.

In conclusion, let me briefly sum up the points of my argument. As a rule, up to the period of womanhood, girls are intellectually in advance of boys. At this period the affectional life receives a new impulse which invigorates and exalts the intellect, when the customs and sanctions of woman's social condition do not involve the affections to a degree which prevents intellectual expression. The intellectual capabilities are increased by the new physical function, and the girl will prove this whenever her love-nature does not too early take the path prescribed for woman. The boy also is intellectually reinforced by the new physical function, and the customs of society push and aid instead of hindering him. The path prescribed for him is peopled

with fresh impulses in the intellectual direction; but the girl must go into the byways and hedges, and compel her guests to the feast she would prepare. With maternity comes yet a fuller and clearer influx of understanding and perception through the birth of an unselfish affection, and a new consciousness of the sovereignty of duty; but with our present social arrangement the fatiguing cares which come upon the mother stint and stultify its outward expression. Finally the cessation of the periodical function, yet further spiritualizes the affections, and therefore purifies the intellect. The physical necessities of this period compel external conditions favorable to reflection and intellectual expression. Hence the mistaken conclusion to which some individuals have arrived, that the maternal function defrauds the intellect. Whereas it is imperfect environment, incomplete social arrangements and the multitudinous errors flowing therefrom, which prevent woman from proving that her physical and mental life are a unit, each operating in the interest of the other, in part and in whole. Again it is affirmed that restraint of the sexual functions in man invigorates the intellect; but I affirm that this will not be the result if passion takes possession of the thought; proving that we must think purely, if we would create purely; that an internal as well as external restraint is necessary for high intellectual results. Finally, the cessation of the physical function in man has the same refining spiritualizing effect as with woman. It can be summed up in a few sentences. The sexual function in its normal action and under proper social conditions yields to both sexes an experience of thought, sentiment, and affection which flow from no other source, and which form fresh allies for the intellect. At the cessation of this function the life is cleansed of the passional element, the affections are clarified, while the experience and knowledge which came from their existence cannot be taken from us, nor the intellectual vigor they have helped to generate.

The lesson of my essay is briefly this. A social condition which will admit the normal action of every faculty of the human being, will prove that human nature is not divided against itself, operating normally in one department at the expense of another, but that the part is loyal to the whole, and that the healthy action of each portion contributes to the perfect advancement of the whole personality. Hungry and rapacious indeed must be a scepticism that would arraign the unity of human nature.

LABOR AND CAPITAL.

The nature and function of Labor and Capital, and their equitable relation, being one of the fundamental considerations in all matters of Political Economy, the query naturally arises, why should subjects of this nature be brought before an association for the advancement of women? Where is the relevancy or fitness of such themes? My answer to this natural query, is, that Political Economy is one branch of that Social Economy in which men and women are alike involved, and in which we have our individual uses and duties. And to ascertain the proper relations which the various social forces to sustain to each other, will enable each one of us, in our own proper domain, to direct our individual power to the most desirable social results.

Beside, if we examine the derivation and meaning of the word "economy" as stated by the careful authors of our dictionaries and encyclopedias, we find an astonishing propriety in selecting the economics of our civilization, as legitimate themes for woman's investigation and study. From the encyclopedia we learn that the word "economy" is derived from the Greek, for house-law, or house regulation: that is the adjustment of the expenditure of the household to the income at their command. Webster defines economy as primarily the management of a family or the concerns of a household. Accepting these definitions, it becomes evident that the starting point or basis of Social Economy is in that domain which nature and custom have assigned to women,—the home.

Having its foundation, then, where woman directs the spring of Social life, it seems exceedingly appropriate that the woman intellect, warmed and inspired by the woman heart, should follow the development of this economic principle as applied to law and government, and embodied in our Republican institutions.

Or if we look at the propriety of our theme from a moral and intellectual point of view, we meet with equal encouragement and sanction. Henry George says, "Political Economy has been called the dismal Science, and as currently taught, is hopeless and despairing;" "but this," he continues, "is because she has been degraded and shackled; her truths dislocated; her harmonies ignored; the word she would have uttered gagged in her mouth; and her protest against wrong turned into an endorsement of injustice. Freed in

her own proper symmetry, Political Economy is radiant with hope." He affirms that the economic and moral law are essentially one, and that the truth which the intellect grasps on this matter is but that which the moral sense reaches by a quick intuition.

Henry C. Cary, our most philosophic and voluminous American writer on this subject, declares that the foundation of a true Social Science is found in the great precept, "whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." This writer also clearly demonstrates that certain principles which underlie the economy of nature, and determine her methods of order and movement, are analogous to, or possibly identical with, those which shall formulate the true and perfect Social Economy; so that the laws which determine the aggregation of men into groups, and also their dispersion, are sustained by the same principles that set the heavens in harmony, and dispose the atoms under our feet. As the centripetal and centrifugal forces establish both the equilibrium and movement of the planetary system, so the corresponding principles of centralization and decentralization in the grouping of mankind and the regulation of human power, determine social order and progress and the balance of social activities.

Certainly no telescopic intellect is needed, to discern the perfect law of association that binds the planets into one system, as based in reciprocity, and establishing mutuality or inter-dependence. For example, it is a law in physics, that bodies attract each other in proportion to their mass. This proportional reciprocity produces balance. This is the law of equity and harmony shining in the heavens above us. This is the justice and the music of the stars.

Spencer demonstrates that all organisms, as they advance to perfection, approximate the condition of a moving equilibrium; and that this fact is applicable to human society as to organic bodies. If then we study Political Economy in relation to these fundamental principles in Nature's Economy, we discover that in a Republican form of government, as against monarchial institutions, which furnishes to a people those conditions of reciprocity and inter-dependence, which tend to balance and perfect the order of society. By what methods all this which is so beautiful and comprehensive in theory shall be practically wrought out is the problem which confronts the citizens of a Republic. How, among all the activities which develop civilization, shall reciprocity and inter-dependence be properly apportioned, and how shall balance be secured and firmly held by even headed Justice? Evidently, every department of our economic system should some way be placed

in practical accord with the principle on which the system as a whole is formulated.

A writer in the Science Monthly informs us, that Political Economy deals with the conditions under which national wealth is produced, accumulated and distributed. This is a true and comprehensive statement, and if these social activities are effected upon the principle of mutuality and inter-dependence we may rationally expect not only material progress, but social harmony as a result. Yet a brief glance at the social condition reveals that we have attained the former, at the expense of the latter. Mr. George fairly states the problem in these questions: "Why does the tramp come with the locomotive, and why are prisons and alm-houses as surely the marks of material progress as are costly dwellings, rich ware-houses, and magnificent churches? Why is it that the enormous increase in productive power which marks the present century, and is still going on with accelerating ratio, has no tendency to extirpate poverty, or lighten the burdens of those condemned to toil? Why is it that it simply widens the gulf between Dives and Lazurus, and makes the struggle for existence more intense?"

Upon these questions, every American citizen should seek enlightenment. Evidently, as a people, we have practically departed from those politico-economic theories which are based in Nature, and can only be realized under a perfectly Republican system of government. Evidently, we are greatly out of balance, as in case of the equal guaranty and opportunity which a people's government was designed to establish for all classes, rich and poor, we not unfrequently find inequalities and special privilege. What is the matter? Let us begin at the foundation, even in the most cursory investigation of this subject.

History demonstrates that almost the first requisite for social growth and prosperity is the creation of wealth; and wealth takes rise in man's direct co-operation with Nature. "Wealth," say M. Godin, the founder of the Equitable Association of Labor and Capital in France, "is composed of two elements: the labor of Nature, and the labor of Man." Mr. George says, "There must be land before labor can be exerted, and labor must be exerted, before capital can be produced. The natural order is land, labor, capital."

If wealth, then, is what makes a higher civilization possible, and wealth is the result of labor, is it not plain that the real creative power, so far as regards life here and now is labor, productive labor, lying back of all other social forces, that upon which all depends, that which makes possible and sustains every phase of human advancement. In analyzing, therefore, the

elements of human progress, we are bound to give the most reverent estimate to labor. For there are but two standpoints from which to regard labor, and from either we are compelled to give it an estimate, that not only fills us with admiration, but with awe. If we look at it from the standpoint of Nature, we find that there is where God's forces join hands with man's, resulting in productive industry. If we regard it from the human standpoint, we perceive it is God's method of creating and developing society. If, then, in the hurry, and fret, and competition of life, we have ever had any doubts as to the dignity and power of labor, let us revise our opinion here and now.

Daniel Webster, we remember, told the American people, that government was instituted to protect this original, wealth-producing force—labor; and the carrying out of this principle, necessitated the adoption of another, as the founders of this Republic well understood; which was, equal privilege and protection for all classes, rich and poor; even-handed justice; equal guaranty for the rights of manhood, in all departments of activity, from the lowest to the highest degree in the scale of our competitive system. These were the principles of equity, equalness or balance, that were to guide us in the building of this Republic, making us one with the economy of Nature.

Starting upon this foundation, we have had a right to expect that our legislators would keep steadily in view, in all their operations, these basic principles of a popular government. But on investigation, we find that these principles have not only been ignored, but actually subverted. That a majority of our statesmen during the last twenty years, instead of legislating to make inequality of opportunity and privilege an impossibility, a probability, and a legal certainty.

I think I do not exaggerate. If we start at the root principles of our governmental system, and proceed with investigation, into all the branches of our political life, we find the discrepancy between the branches and the root to be not only saddening, but appalling. Let us not mince the matter in recognizing and stating certain facts. We always breathe freer when we face the truth fairly and squarely.

We recognize first that capital is the child or product of labor; but we perceive also that there are two kinds of capital. The one kind is employed in industries. It enables labor to become more effective. It assists in creating new wealth for society, and may properly be called productive capital. This kind of capital includes agriculture, manufactures, and indeed all forms of industry that increase the wealth of the country.

The other form of capital to which I refer produces nothing. It adds nothing to the sum of wealth in the community. Bonds, mortgages, promissory notes, mercantile capital, etc., their increase or decrease, do not affect the amount of wealth in the county; and as they produce nothing, we properly style them, non-productive capital.

Now it is exceedingly important that we have a clear perception of the distinction between these two kinds of capital, in order to ascertain if the proper balance or proportionality between the productive and non-productive forces is maintained in this country, and thoroughly sustained by legislation; as the function of both is alike essential to national prosperity. For although unproductive capital does not increase the amount of wealth in this country, it takes the wealth produced by labor, and transfers and distributes it among the people. This distributive system of non-productive capital, is as requisite for social growth and prosperity as the wealth producing function of capital employed in industries; providing, mark you, that the distribution is carried on by methods that accord with those principles of equity, balance or proportionality, in which our Republican system is based. But on due investigation it is found that non-productive capital has been operating for some time in this country by methods that utterly subvert these truly Republican principles.

For example: It is estimated by various economic writers, that the annual increase of wealth from productive industry is, on an average from three to four per cent. Others estimate it as high as even five or six per cent. Yet non-productive capital, whose mission it is to serve labor by taking the wealth it produces and transferring and distributing it among the people, and for which service it should receive a just proportion of the wealth produced, we learn that it receives ten per cent for its wages. Out of what reservoir, friends, does non-productive capital absorb to itself this enormous rate of wages, interest or profits, as we choose to term it? Evidently out of the three, four, five, or six per cent productive increase of the country. There is no other reservoir. What must be the inevitable result? The annual increase is absorbed sooner or later, and still the bill is not filled. Mortgages are laid upon productive capital, to make up the amount. The agriculturalist and manufacturer struggle against this rapacious monster, and in order to escape financial ruin, they grind down the wages of those they employ, or import foreign cheap labor. And thus the degrading process to industry goes on, labor taking less and less of the annual increase, because non-productive capital absorbs more and more. And all this deteriorating process has

been set in the downward current by legislation, and clearly illustrates the unequal (which is only another term for unequitable) relation which the productive and non-productive forces of the country sustain to each other.

One of the most candid of economic writers, and the most correct of statisticians, informed me two years since, that such was the burden of interest alone upon the people, that two-fifths of the products of the country were required to meet it. That means that two days out of every five must be given by every laboring man, woman and child, in order to meet this single burden of interest on money.

It is said that there are eleven men in our country who possess seven hundred millions, on which interest is collected; that there are five hundred men in New York worth over three millions apiece. That only ten thousand own their homes. This still further illustrates the inequitable distribution of wealth and power in the Republic.

If I give you a little mathematical problem, and we solve it as we go along we shall discover yet more clearly how in relation to wealth, centralization dominates de-centralization, thus throwing our social system more and more out of equilibrium, as we advance on the path of material progress.

Assuming that the total property of the country is fifty billions, if it were divided up among our fifty millions of people, it would give us a thousand dollars each. But it takes one thousand of these thousand dollar fortunes to make one of a million. Clearly for every man who becomes a millionaire, there are a thousand persons who own nothing, who live from hand to mouth, who have nothing in reserve for misfortune, or sickness, and who die without means enough to meet funeral expenses. Counting in those who have a little money, enough to meet the expense of a decent exit from life, the number rises to fifteen or sixten hundred who live and die in poverty, in order that one may be made extremely rich. If this one possesses two millions, then two thousand persons are necessarily made poor. If he accumulates ten millions, then ten thousand others must become paupers and virtually slaves. If this enormous fortune rises to fifty-millions, then fifty thousand—the population of a big city—must live and die in penury. Consider now in connection with this fact, that there are several millionaires in our Senate, and hundreds at our city centres, and we have revealed a condition of things that is constantly increasing under the vampire methods by which non-productive capital absorbs the country's increase of wealth. Is it any longer a mystery that the tramp comes with the locomotive, and that prisons and alms-houses are as surely the marks of our material progress, as are magnificent dwellings, rich ware-houses and costly churches."

The methods by which the production and distribution of wealth goes on in this country is wholly inconsistent with monarchial institutions which are based in inequalities.

Mr. Hinman, the President of the Democratic Confederation of Great Britain, informed us last year, in the North American Review, that "8,000,000 of workers there, produce $750 each. They receive only $187.50 each. The remaining $562.50 is take by the upper and middle classes; or about three dollars out of every four produced is thus absorbed." Now such an industrial condition, is wholly in keeping with aristocratic forms of government which are based in class distinction; but for the people or statesmen of a Republic to institute such methods here, is to say the least, profoundly infidel to the idea of the rights of manhood, and equal protection for all classes.

Perhaps no institution so successfully illustrates the harmonious association of the forces that produce and distribute wealth, as the Equitable Association of Labor and Capital, founded by M. Godin at Guise in France. In the summer of 1881 it was my good fortune to remain six weeks as a guest in this institution, thus securing the best opportunity possible for studying the results of the system there adopted.

The purpose of the Association at Guise is to establish a community of interests among its members, by means of the participation of both capital and labor in the profits according to certain conditions prescribed in the Statutes of the Association. The founder contributed the original capital stock of nearly a million dollars. About fifteen hundred workmen are employed in the foundries. The dividends coming to a workman from the net profits is a certain per cent annually upon the wages he has received. This dividend is represented by what is termed "certificates of savings," and becomes the workman's share in the capital stock, on which he receives interest payable in specie. Thus the wage laborer in the institution becomes his own capitalist. During the year 1879, the workmen, who are styled, "Associates," received on an average, 600 francs or $120 in savings stocks; and the "Participants," 300 francs or $60 each. About two years they were so prosperous as to receive 18½ per cent on wages.

The share from the net profit which falls to capital, is a certain per cent upon the wages of the capital; that is, upon its rate of interest.

In the redemption of stock which occurs at the annual dividend of profits, the shares of the founder are the first to be retired by the substitution of the workmen's shares of savings. This is to secure the successive transmission of the capital stock through the hands of the co-operators, and to retain the

power over the common work in the hands of those who carry it on. Thus, in time, the Unitary Home of the workmen with all its dependencies, educational and commercial, the vast foundries, the lawns and gardens, will become the property of these once poor, illiterate French peasants and their families.

But as a division of profits between labor and capital is no certain guaranty to a workman of the minimum of existence, if sickness or incapacity overtakes him and his resources are exhausted, Mutual Assurances are instituted in the Association at Guise. First, the Assurance of Pensions, and of the necessities of existence. Second, the Assurance to aid the sick.

The first is to serve the aged workmen of the institution, who have become incapable of labor; the sum accorded to each pensioner being determined primarily by his years of service in the Institution. Indemnity also is accorded for any accident in the workshop which incapacitates the individual for labor, while the minimum of subsistence is assured for each family, whenever the resource of the family do not attain this minimum.

To the Assurance fund for the aid of the sick, all workmen of the Association give a certain percentage upon the wages received. After six months of regular payment of the fixed assessment, the mutualist who may be afflicted with sickness, has a right to the physician of his choice, and to a daily allowance, fixed at a certain minimum.

Mutual Assurance is also established among the women of the Association according to the prescribed rules. The women of the Unitary Home elect from among themselves nine delegates, who with nine men elected by the workmen, form the committee for the administration of the Assurances. Thus we perceive that in this Institution, not only is wealth distributed according to the proportionality of forces producing it, but we find also the successful operation of reciprocity and inter-dependence as expressed in these Mutual Assurances.

This Institution has been in operation for more than twenty years, and has never had a police case, or experienced a strike; for workmen do not care to strike among themselves.

I have no time in which to tell you how M. Godin, through years of seeking for the true methods of associating labor and capital, went back to Nature and man's relation thereto for his lessons, and how little by little, he wrought these lesssons into his enterprise. In the face of dire discouragement, public and private, he has carried it forward to an ever increasing success. How could it be otherwise? The methods of the Institution had the whole economy of the Universe behind them, and it was impossible to fail.

Godin has at last opened the gates to the Gospel of Life and Labor. He has brought the Golden Rule down to terms of business. This is the ripened fruit of all the religions of the ages. It inspires within us an unwavering faith that "peace on earth and good will to men" shall some day be more than the song of angels breaking the silence of an evening in Judea. It shall be the living reality of a happy industrious world.

OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM.

I think it was Diderot who maintained that "to do the good we must know the true." If we agree with the philosopher on this point, we must not only conclude that right doing depends upon knowledge, but that it is only because of this fact that knowledge becomes of importance to any or all of us. Only as a means to an end,—and that end an ever higher attainment in right conduct toward ourselves and our fellowmen,—is knowledge worth the pursuit.

Nothing seems more dissatisfactory than to meet with individuals who have piles of knowledge, so to speak, in their brains, but never, so far as we can observe, use it for the improvement of their own existence, or the enlightenment and benefit of those around them.

It is pitiable enough for a miser to hoard his stores, and never apply them to any productive use. We have a contempt for the man of brawn, who with tools or machinery at hand, wastes his time in idleness; but it is still more contemptible when a human being lumbers up the brain with knowledge, and directs it to no beneficial end. Of all misers and idlers he is the most deplorable. For intellectual wealth, combined with moral and spiritual laziness, is an incongruity the least excusable. It is only the right application of knowledge to the duties and relations of life that invests it with value as a means to an end.

With what motive then, and to what end, shall our boys and girls pursue their educational career? Can teachers instruct, or parents direct on this point? What is the import of the intellectual rush and pursuit?

The history of the intellectual, moral, and religious development of nations reveals that there is a law of evolution for Society, as much as for individuals. This has been thoroughly elucidated by Morgan in his work on Ancient Society. And when we begin to understand even in a small degree this law of Social growth, we perceive that it is a kind of knowledge which influences its possessor in a manner quite different from that which is acquired by a study of the physical sciences. As we come to understand that Society is an organism, we perceive that its different classes are but parts of one whole, and that, like members of the physical body, their diverse interests are one. This knowledge establishes new convictions as to what constitutes duty in the practical domain of life. It gives us new ideas in regard to the rights of the individual, as distinguished from the rights of the Community, and suggests in what manner

these rights may be brought into perfect accord. It reveals the inter-dependence of all parts of the Social structure, and the consequent respect due from each to the other. In short, this kind of knowledge more than any other, is likely to determine the quality and end of our action in life; and whoever possesses this intellectual basis of duty, will find that it in no wise conflicts with the religious guide of conduct. On the contrary, it gives a reason for whatever of faith or joy there is in us. If in the past we have taken the Golden Rule upon trust, this knowledge of the unity of human interests, establishes, once for all, the rightful claim of this rule to obedience. That the kind of knowledge which broadens and illumines the domain of human duty, should hold first rank in the scale of intellectual acquirement, cannot easily be controverted. But I fail to discover that a knowledge of the physical sciences touches the question of human duty in the least.

To learn that protoplasm is the physical basis of life, that air is composed of oxygen and nitrogen, that attraction between bodies is in inverse proportion to the squares of their distances, all these scientific facts, present to the student no more of an idea of the true code of human duty, than a saw or an axe presents a true idea of the Church of Notre Dame. An axe and a saw can be made as effective tools for evil as for good. They have fashioned engines of war: they have builded the scaffold and the guillotine, as well as the temples of Humanity. They are simply instruments by which the architect brings his mental idea into outward expression. They assist him equally well in constructing a blessing or a terror.

It is precisely the same with the scientific acquirements of the age. The ends to which they are applied determine whether they shall curse or bless the race. Hence the paramount necessity in a scientific age like the present, of developing that kind of knowledge which relates to the well-being of Community as a whole, and the interests of men as one. For it is not enough that we have a tolerably clear idea as to what constitutes individual morality. We must understand how to build up and sustain the integrity of society as a whole.

Godin says, "To limit the moral law to the individual, is to render it inefficient for realizing the social good. It will attenuate social evils, but will not make them disappear. To be truly salutary, the moral law must become the base of social institutions, which are the organs of Society."

We all perceive that the present age of steam and electricity, with its attendant inventions resulting from scientific knowledge, has aided speculations and monopolies that are fearfully warping society itself, and burdening the

producing classes, until life with them is becoming both a pain and a terror: but this power of moral conviction, which a knowledge of the unity of Society develops, now reveals that these inventions should be used to strengthen the solidarity of human well being. It affirms that a government by the people and for the people, should not permit individual enterprise to interfere with social convenience and prosperity. It says that as machinery multiplies the labor power in society, and thus increases the production of wealth, therefore the benefits of that increased force should not be monopolized by a few, but should be proportionately distributed among the various forces which have produced these benefits. It says that scientific inventions should be employed in realizing the associative principle among men, and demonstrates that nothing short of this ultimate application of scientific knowledge will save it from becoming the curse of the world.

If the argument I have presented is a true one, it is not difficult to perceive what kind of knowledge should stand first, and what second, in the scale of influence upon our lives: and perceiving this, we readily recognize the cause of the inadequacy of the popular system of education. This inadequacy is already universally admitted.

Books, magazines, and newspapers, impeach the system on every hand. In what does this inadequacy consist? Has not knowledges been acquired? Yes. What is the matter then? Why the conduct of these educated youths is little or no better than if they were uneducated. Criminal statistics seem to put the matter beyond doubt. Was the man mistaken then who said "Ignorance is the mother of Crime?" No, not in the true sense. For we have been ignorant of the kind of knowledge that should be most deeply impressed upon the youthful mind. We have not only been giving the first rank to that which should be secondary in its impress upon character, but we have not even supplemented it by that which should hold first rank.

Hence the inadequacy of the system;—an inadequacy which reveals itself not in a lack of intellectual attainment, but in its results upon character.

We thought that the old college course of education was too strictly classical: it turned out too many incapable gentlemen: and we believed a curriculum more strictly scientific, would prove a remedy for the evil. But under the scientific regime, we seem likely to supply society with skillful rogues, in place of gentlemanly incapables.

The alarm has also been raised, that the teaching is too intellectual: but this is not so—that is—the better educational regime will not involve less of intellectual force. But this intellectual force will every day be supplied

with some data that necessitate moral conclusions, and moral convictions on the part of the student. This data will be as real and demonstrable, as that air is composed of nitrogen and oxygen. They will be problems from human life, composed of facts from social and national experience, to solve which, necessarily reveals human duties.

There are a multitude of facts, the problems of which when truly solved, will reveal the economic principles which should rule in society. Problems of equity involve moral conclusions. That our educational system should be such as to give a moral bias to character is unquestionable. That is why prayer, and the reading of the Bible in the schools is so strongly upheld by many. It is thought that this will supply a moral want in the educational system. But experience proves that this custom is not in itself sufficient to meet the need. Even if continued, it should be supplemented by something far more direct and searching, for the pupil of ordinary susceptibility is not sensibly affected by this custom. Indeed he often becomes less susceptible under the monotony of its daily application. Beside, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that the spirit of the age accepts little as moral authority that has not intellectual sanction. Whether this is a fact to be regretted or otherwise, is not the question. It is a fact that must be met, and we should meet it successfully. It has little effect upon the boys and girls of our time to tell them they should obey the golden rule because God wills it. They will demand why He wills it, and if we cannot give an intelligent, comprehensible reason, we may be certain that the moral formula has taken no certain root in the thought. Happily, the knowledge drawn from the experience of Humanity in its collective forms, reveals the reason of the golden rule; and the teachers should be qualified to demonstrate this to the pupil, both with simple and complex illustrations, according to the age and advancement of the scholar. Illustrations in simple forms can be taken from the experience of individuals; even from the games and pastimes of the children, and in their complex forms from social and national experience.

The educational field would then be occupied only by such teachers as possessed comprehensive views of the practical relations of society. Our textbooks would becomes gradually metamorphosed in some important respects, and the earliest mathematical problems suggested to the child-mind, would not read this wise—"Johnny bought an orange for three cents and sold it to Jimmy for six cents, how much did he gain by the bargain?"

But it is now thought that industrial education, incorporated into the present system, and applied in early childhood by the natural and compre-

hensive methods of the Kindergarten system, will remedy the failure now felt in the popular modes of instruction, and yield the desired influence to character. In 1876 a statement was submitted to the Social Science Association, to the effect, that the ratio of crime to population was greater in Massachusetts than in Ireland, and that property was less secure there than in Italy, with its millions of illiterates. The statistics of crime in Pennsylvania for several years point to the same conclusion. Yet what does industrial education prove? Let us not deceive ourselves in this matter. They prove that when the forces of the human being flow out in muscular activity, there is not as much force left to be employed in selfish passions and vicious propensities. They prove that the mental force is concentrated for the time being on the work in hand, and thus develops executive aptitudes. But it is a negative and not a positive remedy for the evil we are considering. While it lessens the necessities and opportunities for immoral habits, it does not necessarily implant a moral bias to character.

For there are many forms of the deepest immorality which society in its present aspect, does not pronounce criminal. There is legalized wrong, and legalized immorality all about us. Will this industrial education prevent our sons from becoming partners in these forms of legalized wrong and immorality? Will it prevent them if the opportunity offers from creating a monopoly, which while it enlarges their own gains, so increases the burdens of the poor, that crime multiplies throughout the land? Will industrial education lessen the competitions, divisions, and rivalries among men? Will it uproot the false political economy, that one man's gain is necessarily another man's loss, and that it is perfectly legitimate to conduct all business matters on this principle?

In short, while industrial education unquestionably limits the selfish tendencies of human nature to phases of action which receive social sanction, because of the elasticity of the moral code of business affairs, does it convert the selfish tendencies of human nature to the altruistic quality of character? If not—why then industrial education, based on the popular interpretation of life and its business relations, reveals to the young man, how he can best fill his own pockets at the expense of society at large, and yet save his own neck.

If he does not take advantage of this revelation, it will either be for want of what the world terms a good business capacity, or because he has a moral sense which an inadequate educational system failed to eradicate.

Will industrial education lessen that prominent characteristic of our competitive system, the adulteration of products, a tendency to which manifests itself even in the first business plans and projects of our children and youth?

Look at the New England youngsters up among the rock-ribbed hills. With them, industry and education go hand in hand. There is no lack in the development of the industrial faculties. They are up before day, to be at the work which must be accomplished in order that they may not be late at school, and when the days schooling is over, they hurry homeward because work awaits them. But does this daily industry really give a moral trend to their natures? How is it that they know so well how to skillfully adulterate, in the manufacturing, the sticks of maple candy, which they sell in the early Spring for three times their value? The father knows that his fleeces of wool will weigh more if the dew falls on them just before selling; the mother can dispose of her butter at a higher price if she moulds the good and bad to one homogeneous consistency, adds more salt, and tints it with carrot or otter, or she is skillful to pass off oleomargarine for the genuine article itself.

It may be said, and perhaps truly, that these methods are forced upon the producing classes, by the selfishness and greed of intermediates, who stand between the producer and consumer; yet an industrial age, which industrial education would still further develop, increase instead of lessening the intermediate classes. Shall we not conclude then, that while an industrial age develops the materials, and forces for a grand and great civilization, we fail to make this grandeur and greatness an actuality, because these forces are operated in the main in the interest of the individual, instead of being co-ordinated and directed in the interest of the people—the community. These forces should no longer be known as element of division among men, but as powers that integrate the interests of the entire human race.

When parents and teachers shall interpret the universe to their own souls, from the stand-point of unity, the little children will spontaneously absorb this higher translation of life and its action, and the new earth and heaven so long prayed for will become established unawares.

WOMAN, THE NEW FACTOR IN ECONOMICS.

When a speaker or writer is assigned a theme for elucidation, it is important at the outset to have a clear understanding of the terms of that theme. "He shall be as a God to me who can rightly divide and define," said Plato. and as the world gets older, it subscribes more and more to Plato. A definition of the terms of my theme, as presented in Dictionary and Encyclopedia, arrays it as a paradox; establishes woman as the oldest as well as the newest factor in Economics; the earliest and the latest, according to the area to which the term "Economics" is applied. It is important to note all that this fact involves.

We find that Economics in its primary application signified the science of household affairs; the adjustment of domestic expenditures to the income. We may rationally conclude that in early forms of society, the responsibility of the then narrow domain of Economics fell almost entirely upon woman, inasmuch as we find that fact illustrated at the present day among races that have not yet risen out of primitive social phases. A recent writer upon the customs of Central Africa states, that the work at an African village is done chiefly by the women; that they hoe the fields, sow the seed, and reap the harvest. To them, too, falls all the labor of house building, grinding corn, brewing beer, cooking, washing, and caring for almost all the material interests of the community.

It is from this primitive social outlook, that we find woman to be the principal factor in Economics; the initiator at least of the whole system which follows, whether its area be the family, the community, or the nation: the original source from which all world-wide economics are evolved. For although, as defined, Political Economy "is a science of the laws which Providence has established for the regulation of supply and demand in communities" yet the same authority affirms that the disposition to regulate the expenditure of a household to its income, is one of the phenomena which make up those laws of nature constituting Political Economy. From this point of view, woman is the original factor in all systems of economics; the demure goddess at the fountain head, determining the quantity and quality of the waters that flow therefrom. As an organic body obtains only by virtue of cells which compose it, and as the household is the cell of the social organism, so domestic economy is the original unfolding principle of all larger economies.

I am desirous that this truth should become established in the consciousness of woman here, now, and evermore, that she may have a just estimate of her place and power in the evolutionary scheme of life, when it reached the point of the social beginnings of the race. That she may perceive that neither from the present, nor the future, does she receive her credentials as an economic factor, but from the primal constitution of society itself, as the original necessity of the vast scheme of Economics, which introduces and links the nations to each other, and of which Man alone has been the recognized exponent and director. And although Man has cast a blind eye on this truth, yet if woman perceives it clearly, she can well afford to smile serenely on his self-gratulation as umpire of economics. For the woman soul, in the discovery and realization of its high assignment in the scheme of things, will find that power of equanimity which sooner or later converts all obstacles into auxiliary, all hindrance into means of advance. This interior ascension of the spirit into an imperturbable equanimity, is our great need as women, if we would make all external advantage more swiftly and successfully our own. We must abolish interiorly all sense of bondage and disadvantage, and sailing into externals on the fullness of that strength, believe and take the whole arena of affairs as our native domain. Emancipate the thought from the ever present cramping sense of personal disadvantage, and intentional wrong, and a miracle follows. The spirit at once assumes its proper majesty, and gathers up the reins of directing power. A few individual examples, here and there among women, demonstrate my statement, and we call them the **World's Representative Women.** Their persevering and telling efforts of woman's advancement, is not from the standpoint of woman as woman, but from the standpoint of the unity and solidarity of the race:—the proper balance of the social forces.

Woman has been and will forever be a hero-worshipper, but the hero enlarges. It is neither Man, nor Woman, but Humanity. To her the woman cause means the "righting up" of this deformed hero—Humanity. The labors for justice to woman as a means to an end; and that end, the conformity of civilization to the perfecting organic principle which Spencer styles "a moving equilibrium." The women invested with largest power to bring about this state of social equity, are women who in their spiritual forces have attained this condition of "a moving equilibrium." And there is perhaps no vantage ground, that will bring the rank and file of women so quickly and surely into this state of spiritual balance and power, as a realization of the magnitude of woman's relations to the entire system of economics. The lad who believed himself to be the child of a peasant, expressed in his personality and bearing only

common nature and manner of the peasant life. But learning one day from a stranger that he was the child of a king, he was transformed by his consciousness of the fact, from the peasant weakling, to the dignity and power of spirit native to his true relation.

Woman then being the oldest factor in Economics, under what aspect of truth do we now regard her as the new factor. Looking at her economic relationships today, and comparing them with those of the past, the contrast is as marked as that of day with night. It is the recognition of this contrast, that fixes her as the new element in industrial development. The light of morning or of the stars is new to one who wakens, but that same light has been on its way through the darkness, and it is old with travel. What engineering ever laid out the line where darkness terminated and dawn began? So with woman's industrial advance. She attains new areas, but the attaining is old with unflinching continuity and struggle. When the face of Ramona apeared to Father Salvierderra, through the tangled thicket of wild mustard, the vision was new; yet long before its appearance, there had been perceptible tumult in the fragrant thicket, a bending and waving, and tossing of branches; some persistent agile force pressing through the interlaced foliage that seemed to defy advance. The vision was new, but Ramona had been coming long before, and as she disentangled the network around her, singing a canticle to the Sun.

The new economic area to which woman has attained in this latter half of the nineteenth century, is that of the creation of wealth. Her responsibilities are no longer limited to the application and distribution of supplies; she is a wealth-producer in the broadest meaning of the term. Not indirectly but directly; and this again it is which constitutes her new relation as an economic factor. And what is it to be a creator of wealth? What is Wealth? No one has furnished us with a better definition than Henry George. "Wealth," he says, "consists of natural products, modified by human exertion, so as to fit them for the gratification of human desires: it is labor impressed upon matter in such a way as to store it up. When a country increases in wealth, it increases in certain tangible things, such as agricultural and mineral products, manufactured goods of all kinds, buildings, cattle, tools, machinery, ships, wagons, furniture, etc." Into this spacious wealth-producing domain, the autonomy of which determines a nation's place among nations, woman has found entrance as an active agent among its complex forces. And still further is she completing Henry George's definition as a producer of wealth, when he adds, "Nor should it be forgotten that the investigator, the philosopher, the teacher, the artist, the poet, the priest, though not engaged in the production

of wealth, are not only engaged in the production of utilities and satisfactions to which the production of wealth is only a means, but by acquiring and diffusing knowledge, stimulating mental powers, and elevating the moral sense, may greatly increase the ability to produce wealth. For man does not live by bread alone."

Into this higher atmosphere of wealth productions, where professions are ranked and ideas generate, woman has seemingly compelled her own ascent; for whenever and wherever we lift our eyes to these intellectual ramparts, she passes before our vision. She is there also. I state this advisedly, for I am informed from a variety of sources, that the number of industries and professions now open to woman, run into the hundreds; and one authority states that all occupations and callings are now open to her, if she have the courage to enter them. For myself, I am doubtful as to the full significance of the word "courage" in that statement. If a General should say to his soldiers, "My boys the enemy's entrenchments are ours if you have the courage to take them," it would not mean that the entrenchments were thrown open for possession. So far as women have hitherto made headway into the promised land, even from the first step upon its boundaries, they have cast up this highway of courage every inch of the route. So I dare not claim large comfort from this authority, certainly none that justifies us in laying aside our armor or stacking our arms. The hopefulness of the outlook arises from the fact that the area yet to conquer, narrows; the life of struggle shortens; the entrenchments of opponents weaken and diminish. This fact is due not simply to our persistent courage as women, not to our tireless importunities, but to very many causes inherent in the increasing complexity of our civilization, of which our courage and im portunity are effects, becoming in turn causes. Society being an organism, it experiences all the expansions and transformations of any nucleated cell or egg. There is a time in the history of an egg, when the limitation of the shell, is a protection to the homogenous, inchoate substance within; but differentiations being once set up in this life-substance, functions being specialized, and the whole individualized, that which was protection becomes imprisonment. The organism wrenches and struggles, the walls gradually yield, and the organism walks forth into the light and responsibility of freedom. If the beak of the hatched eagle could speak for itself, it would surely claim that the weakening of its prison walls was due to its own persistent knocking and battering; and the wing and talon would put in a similar claim of merit for itself. But it was the increasing complexity of the entire organism, the one differentiating life within, that compelled the beak to knock, the talon to scratch, and the wing to push and struggle.

There is a seed in Southern California, (I think it is a variety of clover), that, if it had consciousness, would surely claim that it planted itself. It lies upon the surface of the packed soil during the dry season, but when the rain of winter comes, it takes a notion to bore a little depression in the softened earth, and, put forth roots. "Behold my efficiency!" it might well say. "Yet mine made yours available," the rain might reply. But the incubating Genius of Life brooding over mountain, canon and mesa, could say, "I am the awakener and supply of all your forces." A like inter-dependence of progressive forces permeates the entire structure of modern society. Simultaneous transformations, seemingly foreign to each other, are transpiring in the body politic, the Genius of Evolution burning at its centre, having the Providence to initiate all normal expansion in radii, thus preserving the equilibrium of growth. Impartially breathing her quickenings throughout the entire structure, she thereby secures balance with movement, and links progress to order. And a very long-headed deviser does this Genius of Evolution prove herself to be, in that she puts in the heart of each separate reform, a feeling that the true welfare of society depends almost wholly on its own special success. It is this feeling, which secures the most remarkable concentration of effort, and leads each reform to battle victoriously, step by step, with the obstacles of progress. In the vantage ground of industrial emancipation which woman has already gained, I would in no wise divest her of the feeling of the super-importance of the woman-cause. For I believe Spencer affirms it is feeling and not opinion that moves the world. But I seek rather to scientifically and philosophically establish in woman's comprehension, the fact that her special movement has the backing of the universal movement; that the divine mania which has taken possession of her for culture, self-independence, complete freedom, and full responsibility, holds even cosmic relations. Most truly says Heine, "We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them. They master us, and force us into the arena, where like gladiators, we must fight for them." Woman will not abate but give larger possession to the ideas which compel her to do battle for them, when she understands that they emanate not from woman in the interest of woman, but from the One Life in the interest of Life. This is the true basis of our faith, the genuine "substance of things hoped for." The credentials which secure woman's advancement, and guarantee her final emancipation from every phase of thralldom, are from universal belongings; not dependent upon chance or fortune, social fad or political caprice. "Attractions are proportioned to destinies," said Fourier. The line of movement or attraction is forward and upward, and the destiny of woman is above, not below,

the present outlook. It is the inevitable. The urgent fire in the woman-soul, forever impelling her to larger enterprise and venture in every department of human action, that leads a Mrs. Sheldon into the heart of Africa, is the Pentecostal flame of this same Destiny. When we stand on this true mount of vision, there is no space for uncertainty to put in an appearance. Indeed uncertainty on the matter of woman's emancipation is getting "passèè" even with our opponents, and must ere long "vanish in thin air." But it is well to keep in remembrance the inter-relation of the entire output of social reforms to which I have referred, and the fact that the permanent success of each and all of them depends upon this relationship. It is not difficult to perceive that the woman cause, and temperance reform, are allies. It requires closer scrutiny to perceive its relation to tariff, ballot, and tax reforms, to government ownership of railways, and a financial system less open to individual and class manipulation. Nevertheless the fact is there; for woman being industrially emancipated—a recognized independent factor in the production of a nation's wealth, every reform that affects the production and distribution of that wealth, touches the woman cause. For upon Woman as free economic force, hang all the law and the prophets of her entire emancipation. After this manner and direction has been the movement of freedom for any class or people from the beginning.

The inter-relationship of all economic factors to which I have referred, always reveals itself along the lines of justice and injustice. For example, it is pre-eminently a matter of equity that woman should receive equal wage with man, for like quantity and quality of work. When this is withheld, the standard of wages which working men combine to maintain in their own interest inevitably lowers. There is no real security for man's good fortune, except through equity to woman. The want of this has really been the "bête noir" of all his woes. For the race is one, and "a house divided against itself shall not stand." Observe the social scourges that follow in the train of the unequal wage. How it bear direct relation to the dark problem of poverty, and how that darkness widens and merges into the sloughs and slums of immortality. How it broadens the margin of unemployed men who constitute the industrial reserve which enables capital here and there to dictate its own terms to labor. How it compels the latter oftentimes, to array itself against its own kith and kin, and do battle for its enemies. How it necessitates, in the name of sympathy and pity, the effort and expense of organized charities, to eke out the earnings which are either not sufficient for maintenance, or not sufficient to meet the exigences of misfortune. Surely a knowledge of the one fact that the average yearly

income of the working woman of Boston exceeds her yearly expenses for positive needs, only about eight dollars, might well fill the consciousness of every man who is normally bright and apprehensive, with a sense of impending doom. And yet this is but one illustration of the evils which follow a special line of injustice, afflicting the wrong-doer even more than it does the wronged. And were we to follow out the lines of all the social inequities in which woman has been involved, we would surely find that there is a certain point in these entanglements, where the same disastrous lesson and result for man is revealed.

"Every benefactor," says Emerson, "becomes a malefactor by continuation of his activity in places where it is not due." From the hour when woman was sufficiently awakened through intellectual quickening to deliberately board the car of Progress, every obstacle that man puts in the way of her advance, reveals him as a malefactor—that is, a train wrecker; and all the constabulary of the universe are after him. A benefactor he might have been, before the fullness of time arrived for her decisive journey, but from that moment he becomes a malefactor, if he does not leave the track clear, and the law of equity or equilibrium deals out punishment to him proportionate to his crime.

Yet what better evidence can there be of a concession and recognition on the part of man which must ultimate in the fulfillment of our largest hope than the place so cordially assigned to woman in the Columbian Exposition by the "Powers that be." It is no less than a world-wide announcement of her coming on, verified in every form of art, literature and industry. For the first time in human history, the governmental powers have fashioned an auditorium where a world gives hearing to woman, and through her own powers of production, invention, and creation, she speaks the same language as man, differing only in a tone and modulation, which beautifully and forever enhances the distinctive attributes of sex. No niggardly dole is this to us, but the greatest and grandest privilege of all history; dating in myriad forms of art, and mechanical skill, the fullness of time for woman's economic debut. And permit me to direct your attention to the wonderful significance of this sentence, "the fulness of time." There is no sentence in all scripture so plenary with philosophic meaning. It solves for us the vexing problem of delay and procrastination, which has seemingly attended woman's advancement. If hope deferred has heretofore made the heart grow sick, this sentence, from henceforward, should preserve us from all such abnormal lapses. We must learn and remember that Evolution of Nature delights in appropriateness, and will have all things in keeping. She will not vary one hair's breath from this principle, though Humanity, frantic with desire and wild with importunity, should

go down on its knees to her. As a woman of good taste will seek to have the details of her costume present that equalness of grade and quality which establishes harmony, so Nature, with faultless and exquisite judgment, arranges in like manner her evolutionary series, through all the realms of matter and Mind, proceeding always from the simple to the complex, from sameness to variety, from the coarse to the fine, from the crude to the finished. And though an eon should be necessary to each grade in the series, yet shall the details of this grade be held in perfect relation and keeping. For Nature is congruous, whatever else she may be. There is due preparation for the proper advent of her successive creations or bcomings, each of which waits on her fullness of time, and the longer the precedence of preparation the higher the outcome ranks in the scale of her series.

Who can guess how long vegetable life waited on the trouble of chaos and the perturbation of protoplasm before Cosmic propriety permitted the first lichen to drape the Earth's nudity? How long did the vegetable kingdom creepingly unfold as the expression of organized life, before it was eminently appropriate for the animal world to put in an appearance, and accept all that had preceded as a gratuitous offering to the animal economy. How long before Man "capped the climax" of the vertebrate series, in mathematical concurrence with the "fulness of time" and announced himself as "Monarch of all he surveyed." And if at the era of his appearance on this planet, he possessed even tolerably good sense and understanding, he must have congratulated himself on the minutia and perfecting of detail which delayed his coming. For it is ever the last result, which epitomizes and utilizes preceding effects. The grander the macrocosm, the richer the microcosm.

Then reflect how long Evolution strode from epoch to epoch, before Man's understanding was sufficiently awakened through science and culture, to perceive his true grade in the sequences of things, and estimate himself accordingly. Why the length of Adam's sleep uses up our numbers! And man found himself invested with aptitudes and characteristics in perfect correspondence with his habitat. Convulsive throes of Nature, gigantic powers of vegetation, hugeness and antagonisms in the brute world, heralded and attended Man the militant, Man the conqueror. And these in turn gave place to more intricate expressions of Nature, as Man the subjugator, became also Man the Social Being. Wonderful utilities did he wrest by strength of mind and muscle from the close clutches of Nature, and he named the ages after them as he builded communities, and Nations, along his militant path. And he said, "the Stone Age served me there, and Iron here; yet surely

some individuality other than my own must sooner or later co-operate with me in the economy of things, or man will become an anachronism, an incongruity, not able to keep pace with the increasing complexity of Society, and its moral needs. All things herald the approach of finer social citizenship. My good sword rusts in its scabbard for lack of use, for the Press Age has transferred the arena of battle to the realm of ideas. The good fellowship of the Steam Age also—introduced by the Genius of Commerce—renders it no longer appropriate for the spirit of forceful antagonism to dominate the nations." And Man, urged on by the "Power that makes for Righteousness," advanced into the tangle of civilization, like Father Salvierderra into the wild mustard maize. But Ramona was not there; not yet the fullness of time. And had he dreamed that far away in the distance she was patiently parting the thicket that she might join him in the advance, he would surely have called "halt."

And a new age, shod with lightning, has overtaken Man's bewilderment. Its incandescent fire reveals the occult forces of Nature, the eluding principle of things, and the material reservoirs of power. And lo! Ramona is here, standing clear in the white light of the Electric Age as the new factor in Economics. The magnitude of the preparation has been fitly proportioned to the ripe result. And for woman,—the magic of events has transformed obstacle and hindrance into those necessary equipments of character, which belong not to partial, but complete citizenship. And what does this social, intellectual and industrial equipment for the responsibilities of complete citizenship indicate? It is no superfluous trick of historic evolution, mark my words. Desired or dreaded, Woman is proceeding straight to the inevitable goal of largest social and political responsibility. We might as well endeavor to avert the fact that we were born, as this fact: and we are under equal necessity to utilize the one as the other of these facts. Industrial emancipation broadens by an inevitable principle into social and political equality. And as the combined forces of the Stone, Iron, Press, and Steam Ages were engaged in shaping and molding civilization into fitness for woman's economic co-operation, so the genius of Religion and Government, far back in the mist of ages, began the preparatory work of her ultimate debut as the full complement of man. Old Thor strove with giants, until in the twilight of the Gods his hammer returned to him to be hurled no more. Jupiter—"the weather clearer"—moved heaven and earth, swayed the tides of battle, and fostered the ideas of law, justice, and order in the hearts of men, until he, too, sat frozen on his Olympian throne. Hermes, as he crossed the horizon of man's superstitious belief, scattered science, art and music in his flight and passed to the paradise

of the Egyptian Gods. Brahma existed to abolish desire, and initiate the human soul into the salvation of continued patience. Buddha, through suffering and contemplation, conquered the secret of deliverance for the human soul, as his bequest to the race. Confucius came, bearing reverently his system of moral philosophy, and dropped it into the world's ethical cauldron; and later, the Carpenter's son, poor, unlettered, filial, yet transcending at need all ills of earth and flesh, all schools, all human institutions,—Jesus—stood on the mount of Olives, and gave briefly to the world, the full redeeming utterance of love, revealing the Way, the Truth, and the Life, the Fatherhood of God, and the Brotherhood of the Race. Note the long process of ethical and religious culture filtering and refining through all the past ages up to the present date of the Columbian Exposition, and in the name of the universal law of correspondence, mark the prestige it lends to Woman the new factor in Economics; and the warranty it establishes for her full emancipation into all the efficiencies and prerogatives of free citizenship. When this fruition arrives, when Man and Woman—the dual unity of the race—are equal partners in directing the forces of social destiny, we might almost imagine that the material kingdom also will become transformed into joyous correspondence with the loving equity of the human world: that the serpent's venom and the insect's sting, the earthquakes mumbling threat, and the direful sweep of the tornado's wing, may no longer find place in Nature's record.

In connection and parallel with the changes in religious and moral ideals, which ante-dated woman's advent as an economic factor, are the transformations which have occurred in forms of government and social institutions. A beast of prey, the primitive man rose to nomadic forms of society, patriarchs gave place to kings and emperors, and these in turn to constitutional monarchy, and this to the democratic idea and the rights of man. The bloody track of governmental evolution, conspicuous with the panoply of war, was built upon fallen thrones and devastated dynastics, the patriotic sentiment broadening in the red struggle, from the family to the nation. And woman—waited. Not yet the fullness of time for her awakening to the world's need of her citizenship. Something more of brute crudity must be eliminated from the tumultuous powers of civilization. Some larger, and more sympathetic conception of human life and its universal relations, must modify the world's ferment, ere woman would arise from her world-old hypnotic trance, with a new consciousness of her individual ability and power, and the necessity of her taking an equal hand with man in working out a universal order. The ages had thundered from the date of chaos, and she had not wakened. But there came a noiseless,

white winged thought into the human atmosphere, and woman arose, and stood upon her feet, and knew herself and the world's need. And this was the white winged thought which refined the way for her feet. "There is but One Life, and Humanity is its spiritual image." As the genius of the spring-tide sets all the forces of Nature in sweetest passion for expression, so does this truth—the spiritual unity of the race—quicken the hearts of men and women into a mania to make the material interests of the entire Humanity correspond in their unity to this spiritual fact. To a no less work than this, is woman called and awakened; to convert discord into harmony, rivalry into emulation, jealousy into magnanimity, competition into co-operation, poverty into comfort, and the love of money into the love of man.

Need I say that such a transformation of the motives of human action,—slow, silent, invisible—must sooner or later work out a system of society and government, in which each shall stand for all and all for each? It is only a question of time. The century plant that waits a hundred years for its life's perfection, is no less sure of its final glory, than the convolvulus that greets the dawn with expanded petals. There is no uncertainty in the Eternal Goodness, and woman's inevitable advance into all the lines of free citizenship, is but a part of the "divine event to which the whole creation moves."

THE FAMILISTERE AT GUISE, FRANCE.

Nearly twenty years ago, an illustrated article appeared in Harpers magazine written by Edward and Marie Howland describing a co-operative institution at Guise, France, founded by Jean Baptiste Godin, a capitalist, the labor element in the organization being represented by fifteen hundred workmen employed in the iron foundries.

I was much interested in the article, but as at that time I had not grown up to an interest in the principles of Social Science, the subject remained wholly inoperative in my thought. Five years later, however, the field of my mental activities had greatly changed. A combination of circumstances led me into a study of works on Political Economy and Social Philosophy. When evening brought a respite from my daily duties, I gathered up my mental energies and focussed them upon such works as Spencer's Philosophy, Carey's Social Science, and the Positive Philosophy of August Comte,

These studies began to yield unanticipated results in the way of giving weight to my public utterances in the community in which I was located, and led to my receiving from a Society in New York City an invitation to deliver a course of lectures under its auspices in the winter of 1879. It was called the Society of Humanity and numbered about one hundred members. They were disciples of Comte, believing in the three stages of mental evolution for the individual and the race which that French philosopher propounded and elaborated. The organization numbered among its members such important thinkers as Jennie June Croly, Thaddeus B. Wakeman, and the late Courtland Palmer. The invitation to lecture bofore this society filled me with surprise, bordering upon consternation. I had never given a course of lectures or addressed a public audience more than a dozen times perhaps. I was at a loss to know what subject to present to such a body of thinkers which would be new and interesting, as well as in keeping with their general field of thought. It came—my theme—dropping suddenly into my consciousness one morning on awaking. The subject should be "The Evolution of Character." I would present the order in which the mental faculties should unfold from babyhood, that a balanced moral character might be the natural result, and as proof that my argument and theories were practicable. I would in my final lecture present a description of the Familistère at Guise as I had read it a few years

before. The result of this lecture course was still more surprising to me than the invitation to deliver it. A few of my hearers decided to raise the funds necessary to send me for a few months to the Familistère that I might judge from personal study and observation if the principles on which the Institution was based were scientifically and morally reliable.

Soon after arriving in Paris I write to M. Godin, the founder of the Familistè, the story of my mission to France, and inquired if I could enter the Institution for three months, for the purpose of studying its operations. I wrote him in English, informing him of my ignorance of the French language, but stating that I had in one month's study acquired considerable facility in translating it. He replied immediately in his own language, (for he was as ignorant of English as I was of French) inviting me into his own family during my stay, and sending me the rules and statutes of the Association, which formed quite a large volume, and to the translation of which I devoted every spare moment. By this means I acquired a pretty clear idea of the business principles of the Association before proceeding to the Institution itself. So I had little to do after my arrival there, but to observe and reflect.

Two weeks later, I stood with a palpitating heart in the presence of Monsieur Godin,—a man at that time of about sixty-four years of age, short in stature, with a physiognomy indicating that rare combination of character, the reflective, and executive—the seer and the business man in one—chary of speech even with Frenchmen—with eyes that drew into their wondrous depths the occult meanings of the universe, or lighting suddenly with humor, brightened with childlike clearness his grave face.

And now that I have introduced you to the hero of this Institution as I found him in the summer of 1880, let us trace the causes which led up to this enterprise that you may the better understand the nature of the work itself. M. Godin was the son of a blacksmith living in the little city of Guise in the county of Aisne, France. He was a frail child from birth. At eight years of age, as he sat in a rude school room with the children of the poor French peasantry, he said within himself, "When I am a man, I will be a teacher, and I will teach better than they do here." But another voice, seemingly not his own, yet within himself replied, "No! there is another great work for you in the field of action to which you will be called." Afterward, as he grew to be a lad, and perceived the inequality of opportunity and advantage that separated the children of the poor from the children of the rich he said within himself, "If ever I am rich, I will devise some scheme by which Labor shall be lifted from its degradation."

He early acquired a knowledge of his father's calling, and at his death inherited the shop and retained the few workmen his father had employed. As is the custom of the French Artisan he proceeded to Paris to acquire a thorough knowledge of the manual arts. And here—notwithstanding his frail constitution, and the fact that his labor held him from five in the morning until eight in the evening—here he managed to study the voluminous works of the French Social philosophers, Fourier, Comte and St. Simon. About this time also, his naturally inventive genius was brought into activity, resulting in the improvement of machinery, employed in iron foundries, which greatly enlarged the products and the profits. By means of these patents, and the increased production, wealth began to flow into the pockets of the humble studious artisan, M. Godin. Then the inward voice returned more loudly than before commanding him to devise the plan which should lift Labor from its degradation. One day alone in deep meditation, a voice no longer within but above or around him startled his soul with this prophetic utterance: "You will build the first Temple of the Gospel of Life and Labor." From that hour there was no longer hesitation or misgiving, although he well knew that he would have the French Government to antagonize his plan, as well as the whole Catholic world around him. But when Luther resolved to go to Worms, and Godin to build the Familistère, each alike had received an assurance from the soul of the Universe that their purpose should not fail.

In devising his plan, Godin first sought for a guiding principle or law on which to establish his project in whole and in detail; some law of laws from which all social duties can be deduced, and on which all practical activities should be based. In profound study and contemplation he found this guide to be the life-principle. "Life itself," said he, "is the law of laws." "Whatever scheme favors the development and sustainment of life in its totality, that is a true scheme. Man's life is not only physical, it is intellectual and moral also. Hence every man's life should be furnished with conditions and opportunities which will develop and sustain these three sides of his being. The home life of every child, and its immediate social surroundings should include these advantages. In the present condition of society the wealthy alone have the blessing and dignity of these advantages. To raise Labor from its degradation it is necessary that the daily life of the working man and his family should have access to all the resources that develop and sustain the physical, intellectual, and moral natures to plenty of wholesome food, pure air and water baths. A well graded educational system, including the manual arts, and to co-operative productive activities which by restricting individual competition,

so far, liberates the moral nature, and initiates the fraternal sentiment. But this plan can never be realized by and for families living remote from one another. It can only be realized through organization. These conditions and advantages must be the property of a whole community to which every member shall have equal access. Nay, more than this,—every member shall find these advantages unavoidable. They shall surround him or her like the atmosphere. I will therefore construct an edifice for the comfort and convenience of the families of Labor, that shall comprise all advantages necessary for the development and sustainment of the physical side of life from the cradle to the grave. It shall be called the Familistère. To meet the intellectual wants of my working people, there shall be a library and reading room, and I will establish an educational system of six grades of which the nursery shall form the 1st Department. To meet the fraternal and social side of life, I will as a millionaire Capitalist enter into a business partnership with my workmen, in which after Labor has received its wages, and Capital its wages in the form of five per cent interest, and after the educational fund is deducted, as well as the sinking fund for sustaining and developing the plant, then the remaining profits shall be divided between Labor and Capital proportionally to wages received."

With this brief outline of the moral philosophy on which the Familistère is based, I proceed to present as briefly my observations of the same. I found it to be an immense brick structure, four stories in height, built in the form of three parallelograms, the central one having been built first, and the other two having been added as wings to the former, and joined to it, by its two front angles. Each of these parallelograms enclose an interior Court, like Hotel Coronado, with the exception that each court is covered with a glass roof and furnished with air escapes. This arrangement, establishes a very even temperature both summer and winter in these enclosures, as there are wide entrances, and grated openings in the cemented floors which communicate with subterranean avenues connected with the outer air, so that currents of ventilation are admitted and regulated at need. As at Coronado also, inside galleries protected by balustrades are ranged at each story around the interior courts. Arrangements for water, sewerage and drainage are connected with each floor, and such are the economies of Sanitary Architecture, that a single gas burner in each court is sufficient to light the entrances to the several galleries and all the suites of apartments. The entire structure is built as far as possible of fire proof material, and consists of a double row of rooms on each story, one row looking outwardly, and the other opening upon the in-

terior court. This admits a current of ventilation through each suite of rooms. These departments are generously supplied with windows, that being in Godin's philosophy one of the hygienic necessities. There must be no dark corners or closets he said in the Familistère, where uncleanliness can hide. And reflecting also that one of the inconveniences of the isolated family life in the home of Labor is the weekly washing. Godin constructed a separate building for laundry work with all necessary apparatus including also an immense swimming tank where children and adults can acquire the art safely.

At the time of my visit, about three hundred families were occupying the Familistère; I believe it has increased to four or five hundred at present date. There were eighteen hundred workmen in the Foundries and that number also has largely increased. In the Unitary Home the families live wholly separate and carry on their household duties separately as we do in our French Apartments in the cities. A workman hires of the Association at a reasonably low rental such a suite of room as his wages will justify, the rent varying with locality. The stores, provision shops, and businesss offices of the Association are on the ground floor, and are entered from the interior court. By this means a resident of the Familistère can attend to the customary daily duties and purchases without exposure to any inclemency of weather.

There are three or four degrees of co-operation among the workmen in the business activities of the Institution. The degree called Associates being the highest. Then there are the Societaries, and the Participants. If I remember rightly, the latter are such workmen who are employed in the Foundries, yet do not reside in the Unitary Home. They work by the piece like all the others, and their advantage over workmen employed in other manufactories, is their privilege of participating in the Mutual Assurance Funds of the Institution. This is a fund established by all the employees by the payment of perhaps ten cents per month for the benefit of such among them as may become unable to labor by sickness or accident. By means of this arrangement the families of the workmen are supplied with a physician in sickness, and if a laborer is ill a daily or weekly allowance is paid to his family until he recovers. If he is incapacitated for labor by old age, or accident in the workshops, he is pensioned for life. Thus through a straight business method of organization, there is no want or misery, and no pauperism at the Familistère. The Second degree (and I think they are called societaires or societaries) are those workmen who have lived one year in the Unitary Home, and who participate in the annual division of profits. The highest degree—or Associates—are the voting members of the Institution. They must know how to read and write, must have

lived three years in the Unitary Home, and must have at least one hundred dollars capital stock in the Institution. This method of degrees in co-operation prevents dissatisfaction. That is, the workman has ample time to ascertain if his nature is adapted to co-operative life before he embarks in it. If a workman on entering into employ could at once become an Associate without the previous discipline of living first one year in the Unitary Home as a Societaire and then two years more to fit him for an Associate, he might find the fraternal activities and motives of the Familistère quite distasteful and foreign to him. He might find that the attitude of mind and feeling which the competitive system of our business world necessarily develops in a man, finds no soil for rootage in the co-operative and fraternal phase of life. Little by little, then. the old root tendrils must be removed, and new ones adapted to the new system called forth and nourished. Herein did M. Godin reveal himself a seer. He perceived the infinite patience of the methods by which motives must become changed, and character transformed. Hence the degrees of co-operative association. The result has justified the means. Whoever advances to the highest degree, does so because his nature has become adapted to fraternal rather than competitive activities.

At the time of my visit, the members who first attained the highest degree were still there. There had been no return to the outside world, although any of the members are as free to depart with their families and their property, as we are to go East or West. There is no compulsion there. You enter into the system from choice, and you can depart from choice. Up to date, this Association, which has now been in operation thirty years, has been exceedingly prosperous. The Dividends to Labor have sometimes reached eighteen or twenty per cent upon wages. Should there ever come a year of loss and misfortune, Labor would have to take its share of the loss, for that is the meaning of the Association. Labor and Capital must be partners in loss as well as in profits.

The Dividends paid annually to the workmen are not paid in money, but in scrip, which entitles a workman to as much capital stock in the enterprise as his scrip represents, and M. Godin retires an equal amount of his stock, so that by this time the workmen themselves are nearly if not wholly the owners of the Institution. Of course there has never been a strike in this establishment. A workman will not strike against himself, and in this Institution he is Capitalist and Laborer in one. One of the most interesting features of this Association is its educational system. The 1st grade is the Nursery which receives infants from one month to two years of age, if the mothers choose to

put them there for a portion of the day. A small but sufficiently commodious edifice has been erected for this purpose in the rear of the Unitary Home and connected with it by a covered avenue of entrance. It is surrounded by a covered balcony protected by balustrades, and here the infants creep in and out at pleasure under the oversight and guardianship of their Nurses, who are selected by the Association with a view to their natural aptitude for this work. I found forty infants in this department, with but three nurses. In the isolated home one nurse is necessary for three babies, but here in the associative home three nurses could manage forty babies with as little difficulty. You ask me how this can be done. First the Nursery itself and its furnishings is with a view to the freedom and development of the infant, instead of restraint and deprivation, as is necessarily the case with our living apartments at home. Then it is largely because the infant comes under a system of care which does not vary, and which is not easily secured in ordinary family life, not even with the rich, much less in the homes of labor. These babies have a regular time for sleep and are put into their little white draped cribs which are ranged in rows, without rocking. On waking they are taught to wait their turn for attendance without crying. When old enough to be fed, they sit side by side on little benches divided into compartments, and learn to wait for their share, without trying to grab the spoon from their little neighbors. If the desire to monopolize and appropriate seizes the little one, and which is usually expressed by screaming or crying, it is taken out of the room. It is found that no more undesirable punishment can be given an infant, than to isolate it from its associates. Life then becomes a burden too grievous to be borne. It is ready to conform to the golden rule rather than suffer such deprivation. For babies and children desire as greatly the society of their peers, as do we of older growth.

In this Nursery the first efforts at walking are facilitated by a movable promenade built of wood in the form of an ellipse, surrounded by double balustrades, the space between the two being wide enough for the infants to pass each other as they toddle around it supporting themselves by their hands. The ellipse is upon rollers in order that its location may be changed and the prospect varied. These infants enter the Nursery at ten in the morning and are returned to their several homes at four in the afternoon.

The next educational grade admits children from two to four years of age. There were sixty pupils in this department with but one teacher. They march together in perfect time, and tell the names and uses of the birds and animals represented in pictures upon the wall. They have frequent intermis-

sions, and roll together on the green lawns, call the squirrel, talk to the parrot, and should they feel to do so, drop off to sleep at any time and in any place. A slice of bread and butter between meals is furnished to each child in this department, the hygienic heads of the institution deciding that all circumstances considered, this was the wisest and safest method.

The next higher department admitting children from four to six is called the Bambinat. Many kindergarten methods are introduced here. But I will not follow up a description of the grades which take the child in its educational career up to fourteen years of age. Then if the pupil possesses exceptional ability which the highest grade does not meet the boy or girl is sent away to some higher institution if he or she desires, and the expense is met by the Association. This is not what Society does for the exceptional ability of its humble born, but this is what can be done by means of organization, without a taint of charity about it.

At fifteen the boys and girls enter upon some occupation of their choice. They have had the same teachers and the same development, and the field of choice is alike open to each. As a general fact, I found that the pupils in the three higher departments were in advance of our American pupils of the same age, in mathematics, in drawing, and in musical attainment. This is not due to any innate superiority of the French over the American scholar, but to the advantage given by an educational system which is applied to the human faculties from earliest infancy.

In France, law and custom forbid that boys and girls shall be educated together in the public schools; but as Godin believed in the co-education of the sexes, he instituted the educational system of the Familistère upon that basis. I believe he was at that time Mayor of the little City of Guise, but I may be mistaken. The government getting wind of this educational departure. Godin was immediately arrested. Whereupon he paid his fine, put his boys and girls into separate school rooms and bided his time. It soon became noticeable that when the school session was over for the day, the boys and girls ran at once together in the courts and galleries seeking each other's society with abnormal eagerness and avidity unknown before. This result became the basis of philosophic argument for co-education of the sexes, which Godin published in the French Journals, and also of a petition signed by the workmen asking legal permission that their boys and girls might be educated together. Nothing could have been more annoying to French Catholicism than that the French public should become any way inoculated with Godin's social and philosophical views of life and its destiny. So the Government whispered

in Godin's ear: "Put your boys and girls together again; we will consider yours a private, not a public school system; only bring no more of your reasoning upon this matter before the French people."

Perhaps the most important result of this little co-operative Republic is the fraternal tendency which it develops in the character of the children and youth born and reared there. This fact proves that it is just as normal and natural for a human being to plan his or her life with a view to the well being of other people, as to plan with a view to the well being of number one. It seems to depend simply upon whether a child is born and reared in a competitive form of society, or one that is social and fraternal in all its activities and aspects. The child unconsciously absorbs into its little world the motives and aims of the larger world immediately around it. The child's world not being in the main one of labor, but of play and adventure, it brings either the competitive or fraternal spirit to dominate its little theater of amusement. An incident will illustrate my meaning. The room which I occupied in the Familistère looked directly out upon the open square in front. Twice or thrice a day, the pupils and their teachers gathered in the Central Court, formed themselves in line, and with even step marched to the music of their own singing across this square to the school buildings opposite. If the weather was inviting they did not even don caps and bonnets for this pretty but short parade. So familiar are the signs and symbols of military display to French children, that their sports are constantly taking a military form. One day—looking out on the open square when the school was not in session I observed a half dozen children or more, from six to eight years of age at play. Presently they formed themselves in line of march, each with a short stick over the shoulder for a musket, and proceeded to follow their Captain across the open square. They were without hats or caps, and had evidently not observed that a slight shower was at hand when they commenced their advance. When about half across the square, the rain drops began to patter on their bare heads. Do you think they broke their line of march, each taking to his heels for shelter? Not a bit of it. The first idea evidently in the little Captain's mind was, how shall I protect my neighbor? He drew up the tail of his small waistcoat, and flung it over the head of the boy behind him, and this one followed suit with his neighbor in the rear, until all the little heads were sheltered except the valiant leader, who seemed to enjoy his grotesque following, and to glory in his exceptional exposure.

Another proof that fraternal and associative life is as native to human character as our competitive form of society, if one is only born and reared in

it, deduced from the fact that during the existence of this Institution one or two of its young ladies had married outsiders, moved away, and became part and parcel of the competitive world. The result was that these young wives began to pine for the higher motives of life and action which had heretofore surrounded them. With a lower principle of action, came lower vitality or health, till at length their husbands thought it wise to join the Co-operative Association, that they might bring back to their wives the elasticity of spirit and health of body which had charmed and won their hearts.

The moral effect of this Institution upon its inhabitants may be inferred from the fact that during the twenty years of its existence previous to my visit, there had been but one police case. Again the larger protection to human life which such an organization affords may be illustrated by two facts. A company of forty firemen, composed of inmates of the Familistère, are there on the spot, ready at a moments warning to annihilate the fire-fiend. The River Oise winds around the lawns and gardens of this Institution and although three hundred children at different hours of the day run and frolic upon its banks, not one has ever yet been drowned, so watchful and protective is the guardianship of nurses and teachers.

Two festivals are annually celebrated at the Familistère—the festival of Labor which occurs in May, and the festival of the children which occurs in September. At this latter fête, the schools are examined and prizes and diplomas awarded. These festivals are of three days duration, and the inhabitants abandon themselves to the gaities of the occasion. The Central Court and its galleries, are beautifully decorated with flags and the symbols of labor, festooned with evergreens, while terraces of flowers lead up to the music stand and platform where teachers and officials are seated. In the evening all is a blaze with light, and the floor of the Central Court a circling sea of dancers. The people of the surrounding country are largely in attendance at these two jubilees which say to the outside world each in its turn: "Behold! the joy and dignity of Labor!" "Behold! the importance and glory of Childhood!"

I have now given you little more than an outline of the methods and results of this enterprise, and in closing permit me to emphasize a few points. First, the leader of this enterprise possessed not only great business capacities and large executive ability, but he was also a highly spiritual type of character. The spiritual motives of the man directed and governed all his other capacities. In other words, he consecrated his talents to the highest power of the soul. And he doubted not for one moment that this power would lead directly to

the goal, that it marked the lines to all the avenues of success, that he had only to be obedient—whatsoever the face of the sky— to its daily pointing, and the result would justify the faith. Let us all look steadfastly into the simplicity of this kind of heroism, until we are transfigured by it, and our natures transformed into its glory. For although we may not use this consecrated leading for the purpose of conducting a social reform, yet we need it in our individual homes in order to make them a success, and bring them to their highest possibilities.

Another important fact to be deduced from this presentation is that the moral law when operating only through individual action is not strong enough to overcome the miseries of society. It must be brought into organized action and become the basis of social institutions, and regulate educational methods, and all productive enterprises, before it can eliminate social evils. In our present form of society, the moral law through individual action, or philanthropic societies will restrict and palliate these evils but will never extirpate them.

The third point to observe is, that the burdens of family life, which with so many women are too grievous to be borne, are largely lifted through organized activities, and yet the exclusiveness of privacy of family life maintained as strictly as before.

Fourth, in a society fraternally organized, the child of poor parents, possessing exceptional ability, is certain of an opportunity for the development of this ability, the entire association holding itself responsible for the highest development of its citizens.

Fifth, we find that a fraternal form of society is just as native to human character as the competitive form, if only the child is born into an environment regulated on that basis, and is reared and educated therein.

Nearly four years ago M. Godin passed to the higher life. He lived to see his organization of Labor and Capital recognized by the world as the greatest success of its kind ever instituted. He lived to receive the approbation and appreciation of a government which had placed obstacle after obstacle in the development of his work. It crowned him with the legion of honor, he was elected to its assembles, and his works upon Social Philosophy are read by the scholar and statesman. A weeping multitude followed his bier. A multitude to whom he had been as a father, an educator, and a social Saviour.

Not long after his death, a magnificent statue was placed in the open square. The representations upon its pedestal symbolized the life work of

this great, effective, consecrated genius. Thousands gathered in solemn reverence at the unveiling of the statue, and it seems to me that evermore the sunrise and the sunset will drape with conscious light that immutable figure, and that a voice from the Soul of Things will speak to the Pilgrim pausing there, saying: "Behold! He built the first Temple of the Gospel of Life and Labor!"

BROWNING'S PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE.

To interpret another's Philosophy of Life, is a far more intricate task than to set forth one's own; and can hardly prove as shapely in result, although, perhaps, infinitely more important to the hearer.

He who formulates a rationale of the good and ill in human existence, who reconciles its paradoxes and catastrophies with our highest faith and deepest trust, presents to us a Philosophy of Life as consoling as it is inspiring. If he states it in a manner and form that the understanding accepts, and which satisfies the heart as well as the brain, then indeed we have found what all the world is seeking after. For sooner or later it is the quest of every individual soul. Whence,—why,—whither, are the questions that sooner or later rise in the consciousness, and like Bancho's ghost will not down. Each of us alone in our individual life-boat, with a current of our own to navigate, where is the search-light that can transform the fog into an illumination that reveals the port? This quest, and these questions, are never annihilated within us, after they are once raised. We may submerge them at periods in the ebb and flux of affairs, but if there is a little subsidence in the whirl, up they come again, a never failing recurrence in the mind and consciousness. It is not surprising then, that the race "watches out" for the philosopher, espies him afar off, and makes haste to know and understand him. Hence the Emerson and Whitman Clubs, and the Browning Societies.

Now the work of digging for hidden treasure, is greatly lightened and accelerated if one permits others to share in the labor and profit. The shovel and pick drive deeper. It is a reciprocity that augments the findings of each, instead of dividing them. Such at least is the fact in philosophical research. Many heads are better than one. But let me counsel you to accept no one's interpretation without finding one of your own; for although you may save time and effort by such acceptance, yet you will miss an enthusiasm and an appreciation that you can possess only by your own seeking. How shall I explain this? The consensus of opinion in regard to a poet's Philosophy of Life, must be approximately correct; then why should one give time and thought to a study of the author, in order to verify or test this opinion? Yet note the different impression left upon your mind and heart, if in the earliest days of Spring, you buy a bunch of arbutus from a child at your door, or in-

stead, go yourself into the New England Woods, and after much seeking, come suddenly upon the fragrant cluster, pushing up even through snow in the forest hollows. There is a fresh bound of the spirit in finding that sweet birth of beauty in such stern environment. Or observe your enhanced appreciation of the Swamp Pixie,—that first absolute assurance of Spring in the Jersey marshes,—if instead of asking your country friend to find you a spray, you start out bravely yourself, and search the damp sequestered nooks, till suddenly at your very feet spread the tiny buds of pink and white on their ground of green and bronze. It is the flower in its habitat that holds for us the larger charm. In like manner we should each seek Browning's Philosophy of Life in its own habitat—his dramatic monolugues,—rather than accept it second-hand. Yet as the key to Browning's meaning in line or verse is often discovered through the emphasis of a certain word, or by instituting a pause where there is no punctuation, it follows that one seeker might miss the key, while another would find it. So in this field as in many others, co-workers are highly advisable.

Now there is a certain way of finding out the quality of a writer's Philosophy, without spending the time and effort to comprehend his system as a whole. And this finding of the quality of a Philosophy, is of primary importance to the student. For it is entirely a question of effects upon the reader. We all know if a man's blood becomes thin by living in a semi-tropical climate, year in and year out, he needs to make acquaintance now and then with a snow region. He says there is a quality in that snow-atmosphere that just fits his case and gives him a brace for the rest of the year. But a consumptive New Englander prefers a trip to San Diego, because he finds there a quality in the air that puts new hope and strength within him. Both—in their seeking—observe the effect upon themselves, personally, and if helpful, continue their different lines of action; but if harmful or useless they have no more of it.

Now there is a quality about a man's Philosophy of Life, that directly effects the climate of one's soul. I counsel you to partake "gingerly" of it at first, and note the effect upon your heart and feelings. What kind of a mood does it put you in? Is your cheerfulness increased, or are you a little depressed? Has it roused your courage or do you see the ghost of a fear? Does it seem that the sun is shining, or does it look to you like rain? In short, is it a tonic for you daily part in life, or is it the reverse? If the latter, it is well to advance no farther in your acquaintance with that Philosophy. Life is too short, and its issues too important, for us to pore and contract our brows over what only can be to us a splendid piece of mental bric-a-brac. Better, like

Walt Whitman "loaf, and invite your soul." But the student of Browning, applying the abstemious method which I have recommended, at the beginning of his study, and noting his feelings, rather than his intellectual surprises, is not likely to find himself retreating. He returns to it daily, and sips from time to time its elixir. It is too rare and precious for long and continuous draughts. Indeed rapacity detracts from the invaluable after-affects. Let the reader pause often with shut eyes, with finger between the leaves, for so only will he make the atmosphere of this Philosophy, a pervading influence in his spirit.

He may never be able to state this Philosophy in words, but he will find himself taking up the oars of life and circumstance, with the cheer of the hopeful and expectant voyager, and not as the galley slave of Destiny. For first and above all, Browning's Philosophy in its essence, is highly optimistic. Not that it shows us any way of escape from the struggles and ills of life; any method of avoiding its problems and trials; any reward in the final outcome as a general offset for the thorny experiences, through which we make pitiful headway. Not a bit of it. On the contrary it is just this "eternal grind" this continual stress and effort of the soul to forge ahead, that distinguishes it from the lower orders of being, and is its assurance of immortality. Given imperfection, and the never ending chain of evolution, and the immortality of the soul is a necessary consequence. If as Browning states it, life is but stuff to try the soul on,—machinery to give it a bent, and turn it forth sufficiently impressed, why then the earth-theater is just the arrangement to keep it pushing in the evolutionary groove of progress; and we may well give three cheers for the stress and strain of existence, accept with equilibrium of spirit discomfiture and disappointment, and even run to meet trial half-way. For these are the furnished opportunities whereby the soul proves its prowess, by the lesson it wrings from every struggle. And as the knights of old were eager for the fray in which to prove their valor, so the soul of man may welcome life as it is—with all its wear and tear,—as the best possible arrangement for testing its mettle. Nothing is more detestable to Browning, in this theatre of action which constitutes life, than lukewarmness. He would admire rather the Don Quixote spirit, that lays about valiantly right and left, though its foe turns out to be no more than a wind-mill. The soul of fire and passion, even though its purposes are selfish and evil, is to Browning a more saving material for evolutionary results, than "good goody" supineness. He writes—

> "Let a man contend to the uttermost
> For his life's set prize, be it what it will."

The soul without the quality of stress would be in Browning's Philosophy, like an engine without fire and steam. It will stand on the track until some great personality, or some cataclysm of experience, comes to fire it up. Man's imperfections, constitute, in Browning's Philosophy, his superiority in the scale of life. A seeming inconsistency until we note his explanation. Imperfection is the only condition of improvement or progress. The lower orders of life are perfect in their enclosed sphere of action. Guided by unerring instinct they tread their little round. Browning asks,—

"Irks care, the crop-full bird,
Frets doubt, the maw-crammed beast?"

But man, self-conscious, dissatisfied with himself, finds a pin-point opening in his sphere of being, through which he strains and presses to reach the ideals which move in advance before him. Man's advantage and superiority over all sentient creatures, lies in his imperfection, and consequent dissatisfaction, urging him to push into larger light. It is this educed energy and power, that renders it possible for man the creature, to become man the transformer; no more the plastic clay of circumstance, but the moulder of conditions.

In this Philosophy, evil is wholly relative; it is imperfection; it furnishes the ground work of the fray, in which sooner or later, Man is compelled by circumstances within and without him, to make a spiritual hero of himself. For the demands within the advancing soul are constantly increasing, and soon outweight what the earthly life can supply. This fact is but another assurance of the soul's immortality. So the earth-life is a failure from the stand-point of meeting the ideal demands of the soul; but a success as the proper field for educing its heroic energies. That evil is but imperfection, is depicted in one of Browning's poems, as especially apparent to the individual at the approach of death, when the soul has nearly escaped from bodily limitations. The passing soul, in the poem, "The Pisgah Sights" glances over the earthly globe, and realizes that all in the scheme of life works together for good. I quote one stanza to illustrate,—

"Over the ball of it
Peering, and prying,
How I see all of it,—
Life there—out-lying!
Roughness and smoothness,
Shine and defilement,
Grace and uncouthness,
One reconcilement."

The point which most claims Browning's interest and attention, which overtops all others in his poetry and Philosophy, is the developing drama of the individual soul;—not races or peoples. The reason of this is almost self-evident. It is—in common parlance—look after the pennies, and the dollars will look after themselves. If the separate branches of a tree are properly formed, the tree itself is likely to be symmetrical. If the separate petals of a rose are neither blighted nor irregular, the completed flower will be beautiful. Similarly the evolution of the race as a whole, is involved in the progressive drama of each individual soul that goes to compose it. Again—each soul bears a more intimate and vital relation to its source—the All-Perfect—than to all other souls. We might partially illustrate this truth in the fact that every separate branch of a tree bears a more intimate and vital relation to the root which sustains it, than to any or all of the other branches. So we find Browning confining the dramatic portraiture in his poems to the inner experiences of the individual soul, and from these pictures we deduce his Philosophy.

Again—he finds it to be the great personality—the superior soul—that effects the uplift and advance of those behind and below; not by transmitting its own energy or greatness to the laggard in the evolutionary climb; but by calling out from the latter, by the law of attraction, what is akin to itself; by winning a voluntary fealty from it, so that it follows irresistably in the wake of this great magnetic personality,—being changed slowly, as St. Paul would say, "from glory to glory." Or as De Quincey suggested, the spiritual system of the attracted and awakened soul "is wheeled into a new centre;" and this he adds "is conversion; is being "born from above" through the agency of a higher personality. Yet as few of us are so fortunate as to come into intimate acquaintance with these great personalities—which are able to call out a voluntary fealty in us, by the lofty ideals expressed in their lives,—Art, in all its forms, becomes the medium to suggest to us the ideals of these great souls, and we fall in love with them, and are thus drawn onward and upward again by the line of attraction. For the Artist transmits something of himself into his work:—the aura of his own personality. Some of us have known what it is to feel the soul shaken by the picture, the statue, the poem, the romance, until all its congealed fountains changed to living springs. Such at least was my own experience many years ago, in reading the world's greatest novel—Les Miserables. From that time, my spiritual system was wheeled into a new centre, by reason of one ideal portrayed by Victor Hugo's genius, and expressed in the character of the "good bishop."

We agree with Browning that Art can tell us a truth that we are ready to

apply personally, and be benefitted by the lesson. But if a friend should aim the same truth to us direct, we set ourselves against it. We are in no way benefitted. But no one feels the intention of a personal hit in art-production. Its suggestion is for the many, not for one; and by reason of this, its lesson sinks unaware into the receptive mind. Says Browning, "Art may tell a truth obliquely; do the thing shall breed the thought." And again he says, "It is the glory and the good of Art that art remains the one way possible

> Of speaking truth, (to mouths like mine at least.)
> How look a brother in the face and say,
> "Thy right is wrong; eyes hast thou, yet art blind;
> Thine ears are stuffed and stopped despite their length;
> And Oh! the foolishness thou countest faith."
> Say this as silvery as tongue can troll,—
> The anger of the man may be endured,
> The shrug, the disappointed eyes of him
> Are not so bad to bear, but here's the plague,
> That all this trouble comes of telling truth;
> Which truth—by when it reaches him—
> Looks false; seems just the thing it would supplant.
> Nor recognizable by whom it left:—
> While falsehood would have done the work of truth."

By this last line we are to understand that Art—the picture, the statue, the poem—may not be true to facts, but it must be true in its ideal significance; it must suggest spiritual verities to the individual, that win the consent and fealty of the soul. So Art, by its very indirectness, draws us forward in the spiritual climb, where the directness of truth, personally proffered us, fails. Yet Browning suggests that by reason of Man's very imperfections, his spiritual development will pass beyond and above the assistance of Art. Note this from his "Old Pictures at Florence."

> "They are perfect—how else? They shall never change:
> We are faulty—why not? we have time in store.
> The artificer's hand is not arrested
> With us; we are rough hewn, nowise polished:
> They stand for our copy, and, once invested
> With all they can teach, we shall see them abolished.
> Tis a life long toil till our lump be leaven.
> The better! What's come to perfection perishes."

In Browning's Philosophy, Man's intellect is secondary in rank and quality to intuition or feeling. The latter is in intimate connection with the Divine Source, and can convey "fresh stuff" to the intellect below and behind it, to work over by logical processes. What our latest Philosophies style "the unconscious personality"—"the spiritual ego"—flashes its message of the higher truths along the lines of sympathy and feeling and the reason and intellect lay hold of them, and make them as far as practicable the leaven of law and order. This truth from the Infinite Source may be conveyed to Man on the plane of intuition and sympathy, but only rendered practicable on the finite plane through Man's intellectual faculties:—through knowledge, the only pathway of means to an end. The correctness of giving the intellectual faculties secondary rank in the mental make-up of Man, may be questioned. But the great English Philosopher—Herbert Spencer—asserts and proves that the world is moved by feeling, and not by opinions. That is—feeling is first—opinions follow. One may be able to trace this not only in great world movements, but in the smaller spheres of social life. Sympathy and feeling are the roots through which the Infinite sends direct supplies to the soul. Love—not knowledge—is the goal of the soul, but knowledge is the means to this end. It is the route of discovery. Browning asks,—

"Why live except for love?
How love unless we know?"

But it is love, not knowledge, that determines the direction of the soul's gravitation, and fixes its orbit; "What I know"—said Goethe—"can anybody know—My heart is mine alone."

With Browning, the soul is assured of its immortality nolens volens; not only by its imperfections—from which it is forever strenuous to escape along the evolutionary lines of progress, and for which escape three-score years and ten give but a hint of the sweep of the race-course—but above all by the relation the soul itself sustains to the Infinite Source of Being. Itself a divine spark, struck from that source into outward manifestation, it follows that immortality inheres in this spark made manifest, and cannot escape a deathless eternity, because of the immortality of its Source. The Infinite Being was, is, —and ever shall be; and in every spark of Being made manifest, inheres the same deathlessness. "Other worlds not a few" there may be, in which the soul must prove its mettle, but as Soul is Being made manifest, it is as immortal as its source, yet sustaining a conscious identity, always advancing to higher ideals.

"Browning's message to us," writes J. Bury of one of the English Browning Societies, "is to remember that our aspirations, our ways of life, and manners of thought, our seeking after love, and our love for Beauty, have an eternal value for the individual soul, beyond the passing delight of the good contributed thereby to the world without.

Browning deduces his theory of the nature of the Absolute,—the causeless cause—the Infinite Intelligence—from the experiences of the soul. Evidently there is no other field for these deductions. He postulates the prime principle of the Absolute as Love, revealing itself to Man, through Power and Knowledge. Just here we could probably all testify in connection with this postulate, that we **sense** the power and knowledge of the Infinite, long before we feel the abiding reality of His **love**. And it has been the same with the race. Its early gods are gods of power and will:—Zeus, Jove, and the like. The spiritual consciousness of Man had not sufficiently evolutionized to sense the primary truth that God is Love, and power and knowledge, His means of revealing it to Man. Now the necessary equipment whereby Man discovers God's Love in the world outside of him—in Nature and sentient life—is the power and knowledge within himself. These alone lead him to discover Love as the beginning and the end—the Alpha and the Omega—of the universal order. For example,—How can Man discover Love as prime agent in the arrangement of the planes of life inferior to himself, except he has acquired knowledge of these planes, through observation and study; and power also to adopt means to an end in pursuing his investigations. And his higher reason affirms that the Infinite power and will that developed truth and beauty, adaptation and order, conservation and reciprocity, must have **desired** to do so, must have **loved** His plan—His work—His idea—before actualizing it in the manifest universe. Hence Love is the prime impulse,—the very soul and centre of the universal scheme. To state it succinctly, God **wills** to do His creative work, because he **loves** it. The validity of this reasoning we find in our own individual experience. When action is wholly free with us, we first love what we choose to do. With Browning, the supreme experience of the soul is when the love quality becomes so highly developed within it, that it discovers Infinite Love to be the cause of the manifest Universe. When the soul **realizes** this, it has reached what the modern Thought Philosophy styles "Cosmic Consciousness."

At the close of Browning's poem entitled,—"An Epistle," he dramatically portrays how the idea that God is Infinite **Love**, impresses the mind of a man who has before only thought of Him as Infinite **Power**. Karshish, an Arab physician, writes to Abib from Bethany, ostensibly to convey to this brother

in the medical art, such crumbs of learning relative to the profession, as he has picked up in his travels. But it is plainly observable that the ideas dominating the mind of Karshish, and which he brings carefully forward only at intervals, (as if in reason he should restrain them) are ideas awakened by recently meeting one Lazarus, who, it was asserted, was once raised from the dead. After depicting how unlike to all others is the mental attitude of this Lazarus, (as if an excess of spiritual experience had rendered him unbalanced and eccentric), Karshish adds,—"And after all, our patient Lazarus is stark mad; should we count on what he says? Perhaps not."

"Yet," he continues,—

> (Tis well to keep back nothing of the case,)
> This man, so cured, regards the curer, then,
> As—God forgive me! who but God—Himself,
> Creator and sustainer of the world,
> That came and dwelt in flesh on it awhile!
>
> Sayeth that such an one was born and lived,
> Taught, healed the sick, broke bread at his own house,
> Then died, with Lazarus by, for aught I know,
> And yet was — — — what I said nor choose repeat.

But in the closing lines of the Epistle Karshish cannot restrain himself from referring again to the words of Lazarus.

> "The very God! Think Abib; dost thou think?
> So the All-Great were the All-Loving too:—
> So through the thunder, comes a human voice
> Saying, "Oh heart I made, a heart beats here!
> Face, my hands fashioned, see it in myself!
> Thou hast no power, nor may'st conceive of mine;
> But love I gave thee, with myself to love,
> And thou must love me who have died for thee!
> The mad man saith He said so; it is strange."

Browning depicts how love, knowledge, and power, enter in different proportions into the nature of every individual, and it is their disproportion that creates the tragedies of the soul. If we love in excess, we hurry to results, without employing the necessary means to the goal we have chosen. If we

have knowledge in excess, our intellectual appetite is likely to stifle and stunt the human sympathies and emotions. If power is in excess, it will prove as grewsome a route for the soul as Childe Roland's search for the Dark Tower. We are almost led to conclude in the light of Browning's Philosophy, that the failures, mistakes, disappointments and struggles of the individual, are working out one result within the soul:—the approximate equilibrium of the three attributes man inherits or reflects from the Infinite,—Love, Knowledge, Power.

Browning's Philosophy includes the entire individuality—body as well as soul. A remarkable balance and harmony is maintained between flesh and spirit, between the joys of sense, and the ideal nature. Note a portion of David's Song to Saul. David has brought Saul out of a dying condition by the heavenly sweetness of his voice, and the appreciative words of his song; and now he wishes to rouse in the king a desire to live, that he may hold to it tenaciously. So he bends again to his harp and sings,—

"Oh our manhood's prime vigor! No spirit feels waste,
Not a muscle is stopped in its playing, nor sinew unbraced.
Oh the wild joys of living! the leaping from rock up to rock,
The strong rending of boughs from the fir-tree, the cool silver shock,
Of the plunge in a pool's living water, the hunt of the bear,
And the sultriness showing the lion is couched in his lair.
And the meal, the rich dates yellowed over with gold dust divine,
And the locust-flesh steeped in the pitcher, the full draught of wine,
And the sleep in the dried river-channel where bulrushes tell
That the water was wont to go warbling so softly and well.
How good is man's life, the mere living! How fit to employ
All the heart and the soul and the senses forever in joy!"

And this from Rabbi Ben Ezra,

"Let us not always say
'Spite of this flesh today
I strove, made head,
Gained ground upon the whole,'
As the bird wings and sings
Let us cry, 'All good things
Are ours, nor soul helps flesh
More, now, than flesh helps soul."

Evidently there is no discarding of material in the building of Browning's Philosophy, but all is seen to do service in the evolution of the soul, when set

in its proper place, and ranged in its proper order. There need be neither amputation nor atrophy of a single sentiment or passion, if Love is prime minister in the kingdom of the soul. Again, what the world terms "failure" has no abiding place in Browning's scheme. How he treats it is revealed in this extract from "Life in a Love"

"Though I do my best, I shall scarce succeed;
But what if I fail of my purpose here?
It is but to keep the nerves at strain,
To try one's eyes, and laugh at a fall,
And baffled, get up and try again,—
So the chase takes up one's life, that's all.
While, look but once from your farthest bound
At me, so deep in the dust and dark,
No sooner the old hope goes to the ground
Than a new one, straight to the self-same mark I shape me."

There is no room for "Discouragement" in Browning's reasoning. Note the optimism, expressed in this extract from "Apparent Failure." *

"Its wiser being good than bad;
Its safer being meek than fierce;
Its fitter being sane, than mad:
My own hope is, a sun will pierce
The thickest cloud earth ever stretched;
That after Last, returns the First,
Though a wide compass 'round be fetched;
That what began best, can't end worst,
Nor what God blest once, prove accurst."

If one should ask, what was Browning's religious belief, the reply, if any, must be deduced from his philosophy, of which these are the salient features:—an unswerving faith that Infinite Love is the source of all; that human life is the mixture that it is of relative good and evil, of imperfection and incompleteness, as the best possible arrangement to evoke urgency and stress of human character in a continual quest for absolute truth and perfection; that love in

* If I remember rightly, this poem was suggested by seeing in the morgue the bodies of those who had recently thrown themselves in the Seine, ranged in a row of orderly pathos. Hence the title—"*Apparent* Failure."

the heart of man, leads sooner or later to the discovery and tracing of the Infinite Love throbbing through the order of the Universe; that the two Loves answer and call to each other,—belonging each to each, and knowing their own.

That this philosophy is preeminently religious, who shall gainsay? Here is an extract bearing on this point from a new volume by Mr. Stopford A. Brooks on the Poetry of Robert Browning. I found it in a February number of The Literary Digest, Mr. Brooks says,—

"Browning's essential difference from the poets of the last fifty years is found in his positive religious faith." "In the midst of the shifting storms of doubt and trouble, of mockery, contradiction and assertion on religious matters, he stood unremoved. Whatever men may think of his faith and his certainties, they reveal the strength of his character, the enduring courage of his soul, and the inspiring joyousness, that born of his strength, characterized him to the last poem he wrote. While the other poets were tossing on the sea of unresolved question, he rested, musing and creating, on a green island whose rocks were rooted on the ocean-bed, and wondered, with the smiling tolerance of his life-long charity, how his fellows were of so little faith, and why the skeptics made so much noise."

I close this paper with the short poem entitled, "Prospice." It is Browning's dauntless salute to the Arch Fear,—Death— and in it we taste the flavoring of his complete Philosophy.

"Fear Death?—to feel the fog in my throat,
The mist in my face,
When the snows begin, and the blasts denote
I am nearing the place,
The power of the night, the press of the storm,
The post of the foe,
Where he stands,—The Arch-Fear in a visible form,
Yet the strong man must go.
For the journey is done, and the summit attained,
And the barriers fall,
Though a battle's to fight ere the guerdon be gained,
The reward of it all.
I was ever a fighter, so—one fight more,
The best and the last;
I would hate that Death bandaged my eyes, and forbore,
And bade me creep past;

No! let me taste the whole of it, fare like my peers,
The heroes of old,
Bear the brunt, in a minute pay glad life's arrears,
Of pain, darkness and cold.
For sudden the worst turns the best to the brave,
The black minute's at end,
And the element's rage, the fiend-voices that rave,
Shall dwindle, shall blend,
Shall change, shall become first a peace out of pain,
Then a light, then thy breast,
O, thou soul of my soul! I shall clasp thee again,
And with God be the rest!"

THREE SCORE AND TEN.

It has been related to me as a fact, that a talented Englishman, and an effective speaker, not wishing to appear before the public after his power of impressive utterance had perceptibly waned, requested his devoted valet, who listened to his addresses, to be sure and inform him of the first sign of diminished power in his public speaking; and he would then retire at once from the platform, before his ability as an orator betrayed the weakening effect of age. A few years later, the sincere and single-hearted valet thought the time had arrived when he should warn his master of his waning oratorical powers. He did so; and his master was so angry, he discharged him from his service. This story is a lesson for me, and I have mentally resolved not to excommunicate any one of those who, after listening to my discourse this afternoon, may feel it a friendly duty to tell me, that as a public speaker, this should be positively my last appearance.

My subject is—"Three Score and Ten"; and in treating it, I speak whereof I do know, and testify of that which I have seen; for on the 17th of this month, I will have reached the allotted span. And why do I venture to bring such an unattractive subject before you? It is because you all have a strong desire to reach this phase of life if you can, or at least you are all doing your uttermost to get there, and the more truth you can learn about a country for which you have taken passage, the better you will understand and appreciate it when you arrive there. You will have less disappointments, and will seek and find certain permanent values, that will reimburse you for apparent losses left behind you on the way. Of the losses you will be keenly sensible; and it may make you oblivious of the blessings and joys that belong to the Realm of Age, and Second Childhood. For these blessings yield no fruit for you, unless with open and receptive spirit, you seek and find it. You can not begin too soon to plant the kind of seed that shows its best results in the Territory of Age. Elbert Hubbard writes "Man is a result of cause and effect, and causes are to a degree in our hands. Life is fluid, and well has it been called the stream of life—we are going, flowing, somewhere." And again he says—"We are preparing all the time for old age. The two things that make old age beautiful, are resignation, and consideration for the rights of others. The only old age that is beautiful is the one the man has been long preparing for

by living a beautiful life. We are all preparing now for old age." Referring to the Play of Ivan the Terrible, he says, "To be an Ivan just turn your temper loose and practice cruelty on any person or thing within your reach, and the result will be a sure preparation for a querulous, quarrelsome, pickety, snipety, fussy and foolish old age." I am even more certain than Elbert Hubbard, that Age is not a country or a season for planting. It is for reaping.

Five years ago, I wrote an address upon "The Territory of Age,"—a realm upon which I had entered. Three years ago I gave it before this Society. The subject today is but a further exploration. At that time I endeavored to make clear the mental and spiritual effects we are bound to experience as denizens of this Territory, and the best methods (according to my finding) for adapting ourselves to these experiences, in order to secure desirable results. I endeavored to show the working value of the mental powers still remaining to us, and how to best conserve and render them serviceable. I drew largely from personal experience to indicate the power of memory at that period of life and stated my method of keeping it in running order. I emphasized the change that comes by imperceptible degrees to the affections, modifying the intensity of our special attachments, and admitting an expansion of the love-nature that makes every body of value and consequence to us. And as a natural result it becomes less and less disappointing to surrender our personal wishes and desires—causes us less and less suffering. In short—the deduction which might reasonably be made from my address here three years ago, is, that in equal measure with the decrease of physical and intellectual power, in a normal old age is an increase in the spiritual or intuitional consciousness. And from time immemorial this has been named—"Wisdom."

Nearly every month I meet with individuals well in the sere and yellow leaf, who say: "I am not going to grow old." I confess that such a remark leaves me in a quandary. What do such persons mean? Already the stress of years has lined the forehead and furrowed the cheek, whitened the hair and befogged the eye, drooped the shoulder and slackened the walk. Can they turn backward the stream of time or stop its flow? Are they not within the circle of Nature's law? Are they announcing themselves as rebels within this circle? Such an attitude of spirit will only hustle them further and more quickly into the realm of Age. Do they mean that to recognize the fact of years will deplete them of the power and courage to will and to do, while to ignore and deny it will enable them to continue their life-long habit of setting a purpose ahead, and forging toward it? If that is their meaning, it only betrays a false understanding of normal old age, which is preeminently the period for conserving

as far as may be the waning forces of body and intellect, but not the period for driving new stakes, or putting new irons in the fire. Circumstances may compel us to that course, but it is not the natural and wholesome condition of age to desire it. Once on the ground, we would prefer to largely relinquish all that. But if on the contrary we cling tenaciously to the methods of youth and maturity in our relations to life and society, it is to feel continuously conscious, in a greater or less degree, of failure. Nothing could be more disheartening and paralyzing. For this trying to make yesterday of today is the looking backward of Lot's wife; and still worse, even the pillar of salt will lose its savor. Bud, and blossom, and growing fruit, are not for three score and ten; but rather the enjoyment of some well harvested golden russets, that are found only in the Territory of Age.

All through the stress and hurry of middle life, our souls secretly moan for a release from heavy responsibilities, and it is the comforting mission of Age to necessitate this release, by rendering us less capable of shouldering them successfully. We breathe with satisfaction the air of green vallies and still waters, as we drop from sheer necessity the world's burdens. Then why should we not welcome the period of life which by necessity of its conditions, grants our previous desires and longings? If we do not it is because we are haggling at Nature's price; and while we are thus haggling, we are likely to grow into the similitude of Hubbard's portrayture,—"a querulous, quarrelsome, pickety, snipety, fussy and foolish old age." Age is the natural and proper period for us to relinquish,—to let go. I will not say to surrender, but to heartily conform to, and endorse the situation we have longed all our lives to reach. We have only to give up the responsibilities to which we are no longer equal, and assume a lighter and narrower range of duties. We need no longer rack our brains, at the world's problems, for at last we find that the blessed privilege of contemplation is ours, instead of tension and stress. Our earth rootlets cling and feed themselves with less and less tenacity, less and less rapacity. Evidently we are absorbing our sustenance, as conscious spiritual beings, from sources of light and air we had not entered upon before. A wonderful, yet wholly natural transformation; a loss some way translated into gain. In what does this loss consist? If we are utterly candid with ourselves, we will admit that the report of the five senses at three score and ten is often inaccurate and unreliable. Should we accept them confidently, and without question as in former years, we would find ourselves sometimes arriving at false conclusions. Conclusions which investigation would disprove. The eye-sight not infrequently gives a false perspective; so that what we seem to see bears

no resemblance or relation to the actual object we are looking at. And sometimes when there is apparently no diminished sense of hearing the direction in which we locate the sound, does not accord with fact. We wisely learn to hesitate in conclusions that have only our five senses for a backing. We would rather not give testimony under oath on such foundation. We certainly would prefer to affirm. Arriving then at a point in years when we find that we can not thoroughly rely upon our senses as the ultimatum of correct evidence, we encounter another stumbling block in our way-faring. The memory, as to common-place affairs which have not especially demanded our interest or concentration of mind, becomes of so little account, that we learn not to accept it on such matters as wholly trust-worthy, unless there is something else to second it. Indeed, on transient ordinary affairs, the memory almost seems kaleidoscopic, presenting a new phase or combination when we try to shake it up or turn it over. Sometimes an idea which has once been in the mind, will for a moment present itself in the jumble of memory as something of actual occurrence; and often careful reflection is necessary to weed out that which we have thought, from that which has really occurred. These possible and probable characteristics of three score and ten seem discouraging, and even grewsome to those who are younger, and who are surely bound for the same port. But it will not seem so to them when they get there. For once on the ground, a guide, perhaps even more trustworthy than memory or the evidence of the senses, is ours, if we recognize it, and cultivate its intimacy and friendship. What shall we name it? If we belonged to the lower orders of life, if we were a bug, a fly, or a worm, a bird or a reptile, I would call it instinct. In man it has been called intuition. The modern psychologist may call it the subconscious mind. The followers of the New Thought Philosophy may style it the subliminal consciousness, or the supra-conscious self. These names overpower and bewilder us, like botanical terms when we are simply selecting a rose for the hair. Whatever its name, it operates in the form of an impression on the mind as to the truth or falsity of things, and sometimes straightens up the faltering memory, and makes it sure of itself. At other times it remains in direct opposition to the testimony of the senses, or of what we saw and heard. Despite external evidence, the impression will not down, and it is nearly always more or less accurate. It is perhaps more unwise in us to refuse it recognition, than to feel indifferent to our other sources of knowledge, already on the decline; for the law seems to be, that the more we recognize it, the more it will inform and guide us. Although in youth, or in the zenith of our years, we may have been sometimes dimly aware of a source of knowledge

and conviction beyond the realm of the senses, yet was it like a ship that passes in the night; and it is in the Territory of Age that we are able to claim this heritage. We do not need to struggle or study for it, or consume the midnight oil. There is no need of books or ambitious projects. Indeed all this is liable to obscure the new source of light, and it can not be simply a coincidence, that when years slacken our grasp upon the former methods, the new light comes in to reimburse and compensate for all we relinquish. Yet according to the measure of our equanimity, our self-forgetfulness, in short, our unselfishness, will be the measure of our reimburesment; and that is a price that cannot be gathered in on call, unless careful deposits of the same have been made all along through the previous years. To have the sources of truth and blessedness in old age, when the material senses wane, unselfish habits of thought and action should be initiated in youth, firmly rooted and established in middle age, until it becomes a second nature, or automatic, at three score and ten to forget self and remember others. Such is the price that is paid for the light that is neither of the moon nor of the sun.

Prof. William James of Harvard University, a writer upon psychology, says "we must make habitual and automatic, as early as possible, as many useful actions as we can, and as carefully guard against growing into ways that that are likely to be disadvantageous. In the acquisition of a new habit, or the leaving off of an old one, we must take care to launch ourselves with as strong and as decided an initiative as possible. Never suffer an exception to occur, until the new habit is securely rooted in your life. William Walker Atkinson, Editor of **New Thought**, writes: "We should cultivate good habits against the hour of need. The time will come when we will be required to put forth our best efforts; and it rests with us today whether that hour of need shall find us doing the proper thing automatically, and almost without thought, or struggling to do it, bound down and hindered by the chains of things opposed to that which we desire at that moment.

We make then this discovery in exploring the Territory of Age, that we both lose and gain. The senses report less accurately, memory becomes uncertain in regard to passing affairs, and the intellect weakens in its synthetic grasp:—that is, its ability to perceive all the factors on which to base conclusions. But we gain in humility, in larger intuition, in a more sensitive and responsive conscience, and in a loving sympathy for all:—in short we take on the attributes of a larger spirituality. Was not this Browning's understanding of Age as expressed in his poem of Rabbi Ben Ezra?

"Grow old along with me!
The best is yet to be,
The last of life, for which the first was made:
Our times are in His hand
Who saith 'A whole I planned.
Youth shows but half; trust God: see all, nor be afraid.'

And again in the same poem:

Youth ended, I shall try
My gain or loss thereby;
Leave the fire ashes, what survives is gold:
And I shall weigh the same,
Give life its praise or blame:
Young, all lay in dispute; I shall know, being old.

During the last twenty-five years, (thanks to scientific progress) methods have been discovered, whereby, if we choose, and have the will, we can prolong our grasp upon the physical and mental powers which otherwise we might relinquish. Deep breathing, out-door light and air, a proper and nutritious diet with sufficient mastication, physical culture, frequent ablutions, and sufficient sleep, all these sustain and conserve the bodily forces, and help produce what is still rare among us, a vigorous old age. We have one or two examples of this in our midst, and it is as refreshing to look upon, as the sight of a rose in mid-winter. They have scrupulously, even religiously followed the hygienic laws, and behold the blessed result.

But more than this has been discovered. It is stated on the authority of science and the medical fraternity, that violent emotions such as anger, revenge, hatred, envy, jealousy, cause the glands to secrete a poisonous instead of a healthy fluid, infecting more or less the blood, and resulting in various physical ailments. Unquestionably, an equible disposition is a potent aid in conserving bodily vigor.

Three years ago I delivered the Old Home Address in my native town, New Hampshire; and at its close, an aged man in the audience arose to make remarks. He was listened to with marked deference and attention. From his appearance and the connected thread of his remarks, I judged him to be of seventy or seventy-five years of age. After the meeting, I learned that in a few days the man would reach one hundrd years of age, and there would then be a great celebration of the anniversary. His remarkable longevity led me to

inquire into his manner of life and disposition; and I learned that he had followed out-door occupation, and still followed light work in his garden, that he had been all his life of a humorous disposition, rarely ruffled in spirit or temper. Here at least was rare evidence of habit and disposition that favor longevity; and I think it quite probable that should we investigate similar cases, we might find similar testimony. It is therefore advisable to make ourselves followers of these hygienic principles as early in life as possible; but it is better late than never. If we had a choice garment that we could not replace, we would begin to have a care as to the wear and tear of it. The stitch in time would save nine. Even so the elements of physical and mental vigor, may be conserved and carried over into that period of age, when the consciousness is taking on its larger spiritual character.

Now there is another remark that I sometimes hear from fellow travellers in this region of three score and ten, that I have always found myself incapable of understanding. They say, "I do not want to live until I have to be waited on." But now why not? The very little experience I have had of that kind during my lifetime, I have found exceedingly enjoyable. But what is the real animus of that expression? Has it ever been analyzed by those who make it? The remark usually comes from those who have led active and useful lives, who have added to the prosperity of family and society, and who have been worthy factors in the community. In short—those to whom the world is indebted. Then why not be willing to have the debt paid back? That is business, and the natural and right kind of business. Not only willing to be waited on, but make a heaven of it; so that a smile of gratefulness, greets those who serve us, and words of thanks and appreciation rise spontaneously. Let us enjoy our dues, as the old soldier does his pension.

What would we think of a soldier's mental calibre if he exclaimed, "I hope I may never live to receive a pension." By my fellow traveller will say, "I do not wish to become a burden." Now that depends upon what one means by the word "burden." A ball and chain around the ankle is a burden, and the sweetest thing that blesses our lives,—a darling baby—is also a burden. Yet one is a source of torture, and the other a perennial joy. The kind of idea we hold in the mind about becoming a burden, is the idea likely to be accepted by those who wait on us. A deep appreciation of the service we receive, renders it a blessing to both parties. Our lives can be made a help and encouragement to others even when physically disabled. A smile or tear at the opportune moment, or an expressed word of counsel and sympathy, these are the needs which neither fears nor infirmity can hinder us from supplying. Robert Louis

Stevenson has a bit of gospel on this point. He writes, "So long as we love, we serve. So long as we are loved by others, I would almost say we are indispensable; and no man is useless while he has a friend."

But again my fellow traveller may say "I do not wish to live to receive favors from others." Then I can only reply to him. "So much the worse for you; Change your mental and spiritual standpoint as soon as possible. All your life you have voluntarily given favors to others, and now you are not willing to allow these others the same privilege. Have you not read "it is more blessed to give than to receive?" Do you wish to make a monopoly of this blessedness? Can you not take your turn at receiving? Are you not willing to do as you would be done by? Make haste to pluck out this little seed of false pride, or alas for your three score and ten."

I cannot be too grateful that my mother taught me to always receive a favor or a gift with happy appreciation. I remember her making it doubly impressive by saying, "even if the gift is no more than a pin." She so engraved this law of love upon my heart that it has operated as spontaneously and automatically as breathing or the circulation of the blood. Let me say then to my fellow traveller, put aside, as in some way or in some degree false and wrong, those ideas and feelings which do not conform to the necessary conditions of age. By this happy conformity, the aged person becomes an important factor in the moral make-up of a family.

Comte—the French Philosopher—depicted the ideal community and State from what he held to be a scientific standpoint. He also stated the conditions for the ideal family. It should, he thought, when possible, represent three generations,—the children, the parents, and the grand-parents. Each of these three generations contributed an influence peculiar to itself to the moral make-up of the home? The proper equipoise of a progressive home was thus preserved. Here were dependence and independence; strength and weakness, humility and self assertion, experience and inexperience, the decisive judgment of life's prime, and the wisdom that suffereth long and is kind, the old child, and the young child. These would be balancing and helpful factors, each to each. Comte was correct.

And this brings me to a last protest of my fellow traveller, who may say, "Deliver me from living till my second childhood." Now let us go up close to this last bugbear, examine it on all sides, and get a definite idea of its nature. Most men and women of middle age, speak of their childhood as the halcyon days of life. Care free, heart free, with no responsibility that kept them from restful slumber at night. They woke in the morning to find all things prepared

for them, and words of tender counsel restrained their too hasty emotions. We sigh, and even weep, if we linger in the thought of our long departed childhood, and we join the poet and singer in praying,

> "Backward turn backward O time in thy flight,
> Make me a child again, just for tonight."

Then where is the foundation for recoiling from a second childhood? It is, I judge, because the term is accepted as applying to the aged person, only in a limited and detracting sense; when in reality, it should be applied in its broadest sense. Not simply (as is the ordinary idea), in the sense of irritability, or making much ado about nothing. That is but one characteristic of the young child and the old child for it is just as certain that all those qualities that led our Master to say "of such are the kingdom of heaven," belong to the old child also. Trustfulness in the advice and guidance of others, sensitiveness to praise or blame, intuitive discernment, a ready smile and a ready tear, the tendency to forgive and forget, the ready talkativeness to those they love on matter relating to themselves, the absence of conventional tact in manner and speech, the home life their orbit of enjoyment, and the shrinking from that larger world which seems too mighty for them, in fact all those especial qualities that caused Jesus to say "Suffer little children to come unto me," belong to the old child as well as the young child. It is the day of small things for each; and Nature has made it to be as enjoyable to them while they are in it, as the day of large things has been to the one, and will be to the other. If the old child will live in the Now, just as the little child does, instead of living in the Past, he will find the springs of happiness still flowing. To use a term of the mental scientists, it is a false belief in regard to second childhood, leading to a false appreciation of its relationship to earth and heaven, that leads us to recoil at the thought of reaching it. This false belief, and consequent false appreciation, leads to a want of proper consideration, for the feelings and needs of second childhood on the part of youth and maturity. Consideration and attention is given unstintedly at the other end of the line, where the little child is made the determining factor in the system of the household. Hence there is likely to come into second childhood a great sense of loneliness, because of the want of a proper understanding on the part of relatives and friends of this period of life. Yet despite the generally accepted idea of Second Childhood, Art makes no mistakes in dealing with it; for Art in its suggestions of moral beauty lays hold of and reflects the truths of God. The painted canvass portraying first childhood, however lovely in its work and presentation, seldom

impresses the mature mind as deeply as the picture of second childhood. We smile and praise the former, for it holds a radiant anticipation but we are enthralled by the latter, for it speaks history. It is like the new and the old battle flag; the one unsoiled and without a rent; the other worn and torn with the strife. It is over the latter that we pause and linger. It is the latter that is counted as treasure and hoarded by the State as a precious relic. What people would be so simple and uncivilized as to say "these worn old flags are of no further use; they are ready to fall to pieces; make room for the new." Art would say, that the woman who sells for a trifle the ancient pigeon hole desk, the old clock that occupied the full length of the corner, the colonial dressing table and buffet, in order that something new and modern should take their place, is a woman without sentiment or any true culture. For real Art never succumbs to a conventional whim, anymore than real Religion. Like religion it adheres to the immortal verities; and in truth they belong to each other.

You remember that the very interesting and instructive lecture presented here a month since, upon the history of the art of tapestry, emphasized the fact of the value set upon very old tapestry. Even a small piece so ancient that it required great care in handling it, was held at an incredible price. A few weeks since, I received a letter of inquiry from a very distant relative, whom I had never seen nor heard of, and who was collecting facts in regard to our line of ancestry. As a bit of rare information she wrote—"the old Cooper house built about 1657 is well preserved in Cambridge on Linnean Street, also the gravestone of Deacon John Cooper, our immigrant ancestor and that of his son."

So we perceive that a very old house and even a very old tombstone, having nothing but age to recommend them, can be invested with historic sacredness. Emerson advised walking in the woods in order to dodge old age but the best thing he said in that connection was this:—"I recommend it to people who are growing old against their will." He adds "they may draw a moral from the fact that it is the old trees that have all the beauty and grandeur." It will not be questioned I think that in the heart of us all, Nature gives colossal prestige to that which is old in her domain. It lifts a poet's soul to the creation of Thanatopsis, and Bryant's **Forest Hymn.**

"Father, thy hand
Hath reared these venerable columns thou
Didst weave this verdant roof. Thou didst look down

Upon the naked earth, and, forthwith, rose
All these fair ranks of trees. They in thy sun
Budded, and shook their green leaves in thy breeze,
And shot toward heaven. The century living crow
Whose birth was in their tops, grew old and died
Among their branches, till, at last, they stood,
As now they stand, massy, and tall, and dark,
Fit shrine for humble worshipper to hold
Communion with his Maker."

And Gannett in his "Sunday Morning on the Hilltop" apostrophises the inanimate objects around him.

"That pebble is older than Adam,
Secrets it hath to tell;
These rocks they cry out 'history'
Could I but listen well."

Now if mere things, and inanimate objects, rise in value and appreciation because they suggest the history of years, why should not the old person constitute the leading figure in this Parthenon of sentiment? And why should we shrink to reach such place of honor and endorsement? At three score and ten, we are simply stepping into Nature's rank of honor and if we recognize it, it is well; but better still, if those who are behind us in years recognize it also, they will march toward the sunset with an optimistic tread.

A few days ago, I was shown a picture of Liszt in his youth, and Liszt in his old age. There was such a lack of resemblance between the two, one would never have guessed them to be one and the same person. It was the old face that held me in an entranced study, because of its expression of benignity, and beneficence. And I thought,—the feelings and deeds of a life-time have wrought that expression. It must be history. Then I grew doubtful; for while such an expression might be true of a canonized saint, how could it be true of a musical composer? Being ignorant of his history, I asked my daughter what were the characteristics of the great composer in his maturity and old age. And she replied: "Generosity and benevolence to his fellow artists. Seeking to establish for them a popular recognition, which was their due while living, and forgetful of himself." Art could not lie, and all this heavenly excellence in the soul of Liszt had been slowly carving its reflection into the wrinkled face.

I must not forget to mention that among the blessings and enjoyments of age, is a freedom and immunity from certain conventional fetters, which youth and maturity are expected to adopt. But these fetters drop from the aged person, and strange to say, the world is willing. O blessed and unanticipated freedom! At last you can speak your real opinion without duplicity or art, and if it is a little too frank and sincere for the time and place, the listener, because you are old, will kindly gulp it down, and even smile at your innocent lack of worldly wisdom. In the Territory of Age, you can spontaneously admire and love either persons, animals, or things, and you are not arraigned by rivalry, or envy, or misjudgement. You would not lose caste if you preferred Walt Whitman to Shakespeare. Is not this in itself a foretaste of heaven? In youth and maturity, it is often the sweetest and best in our souls that we must refrain from expressing. And this is called "worldly wisdom." But age releases us from this bondage, and like an unswathed baby, the spirit rejoices in its liberty of movement.

A good many years ago, I was a student of Herbert Spencer; (which I have never regretted) and I hold in my memory two at least of his statements, in regard to some of the characteristics which will distinguish a high grade of society and civilization. One was, that we will dispense with written contracts; they will not be necessary for the fulfillment of a promise. The other was, that there will be an increasing consideration for the aged; for their care, comfort, and happiness. We can verify in any community this latter statement, by acquaintance and observation. Note the homes where an aged person is residing in the family. Nothing indicates more surely the grade of moral culture and refined feeling a family has attained than its daily consideration for the aged inmate in the house. As an indicator of the truly civilized home, it rules out college and pedigree. And it is one of the cheering symptoms of our social progress, that a cherishing care for the aged has been constantly increasing. To seek the advice and counsel of the aged in matters of moment, was not infrequent among ancient peoples, and among the Indian tribes of today, the word of the aged chieftain is often the weight that tips the balance. It cannot be therefore that kind of attention and respect to which Spencer refers, since that is found among crude tribal societies. It must refer to a larger provision for the physical comfort of the aged; the exemption from stress and care; and the more careful attention to supply an environment that will give rest and satisfaction. Even our present degree of civilization is characterized by a marked courtesy to the elderly man or woman, in all our social commingling. Not long since an elderly New York lady, who had been something of a

social belle, said to me with ill-concealed bitterness of tone,—"When you enter a crowded trolley, and men rise to give you a seat, you may know you are "passèe." It has been remarked that there is a similarity between first and second childhood in a tendency to credulity or superstition. In a sense this is probably true. Second childhood may seem to return on this point to the mental tendency of first childhood; but it is on a much higher coil in the spiral of evolution. Even human society itself is said to move forward and upward by a similar law. From epoch to epoch it grasps some primeval thought or faith, and lifts it to such higher ground that it is transfigured.

Comte—the French Philosopher to whom I have before referred, and the author of the Positivist Philosophy,—affirmed that a like law governs the mental evolution of the individual and the race. Note the evolution of the human mind from babyhood to maturity, when its normal unfoldment is not warped by extraneous authority, and you have the principle that governs the stages of evolution in the human race. Comte affirmed that there were three stages of unfoldment—the theological, the metaphysical, and the positive or scientific. There is a large backing of evidence to sustain Comte's affirmation. But I would like to have some great and accurate thinker take up Comte's idea from the idea where he left it, and carry it on to the finish of the individual and the race; if the route to intellectual culmination is the theological, the metaphysical, and the scientific, why will not a further change involve the reverse order —that is—the scientific, the metaphysical, and the theological or super-natural? If the first order is true for man, why is not the reverse order also (since both are natural and normal), bearing always in mind that the reverse movement is on higher rounds in the spiral, making a significant difference between the credulity of first and second childhood. The latter has the experience and knowledge of a life-time for its backing the former has nothing.

In closing, let me bear witness that childhood, youth, maturity, and age have each a note of music peculiar to itself: never really lost, but carried forward, and commingling with the strain that follows, and rounding up at last in a Song of Spiritual Life.

THREE SCORE AND TEN.

I move with care adown the Sunset slope,
Slowly the path I scan.
By ways that daily narrow in their scope
I reach the allotted span.

"A second childhood" those behind me say:
Then I must surely find
Old notes of music round about my way,
Fitting the childhood mind:—

A song of heart-free gladness, rich and gay,
So joyous, that I think
The bird that used to match it on the spray,
Was called the bobolink.

It sang its startling rapture on the wing,
And so forsooth did I:—
A gurgling miracle, that seemed to bring
Together, earth and sky.

May I renew it? I will make essay!
Sing out, my soul, the strain
Of bubbling joy on the declining day,—
This second childhood plain!

I touched the lyre, and lo! responsive song
Woke at my trustful hand;
Half and half melodies, a witching throng
Poured forth at my command.

Yet every note of gladness or of joy,
Just missed that rapture crown
The bobolink attained; some mild alloy
Had softly toned it down.

"Now be not disconcerted, Heart of Age!
Essay that other strain,—
The triplet call the robin used to wage,
Anticipating rain."

Expectant, once again I took the lyre;
The child heart throbbed with hope;
I thought the robin's call of sweet desire
Was yet within my scope.

Alas, not quite a failure, nor complete!
A twin chord missed its mate;
Hope had forgotten in its oft defeat,
How to anticipate.

Then I bethought me of a childhood lay
Found in the ring-dove's throat;
It sang of love in such a simple way,
I sure could find the note.

T'was found! Yet threading the caressing tone,
A new vibration came,
Not wholly native to the ring-dove's moan;—
The same, yet not the same.

"Hast thou no music, then Oh Heart of Age,
In unison as erst
With Nature's own?—This second childhood stage
Accordant as the first?"

A hurrying answer from the branches where
The nesting songsters throng,
Poured forth reply exhaustive, in one rare
Kaleidoscopic song.

Startled, I lifted up a wrinkled brow;
Blood quickened at my heart;
A mocking bird was singing on the bough:
I knew my counterpart.

A catch of this and that; a touch of all;
A compound strangely rife
With pure extractions from the joys that fall
Around the child-heart life.

Alien no more, my lyre strikes full accord,
All notes swept in at last:
This second childhood finds unique reward
In compounds of the past.

No single name, as love, or joy, or hope,
May to my song be given;
Commingling, they resolve a larger scope;
Suppose we call it—"heaven."